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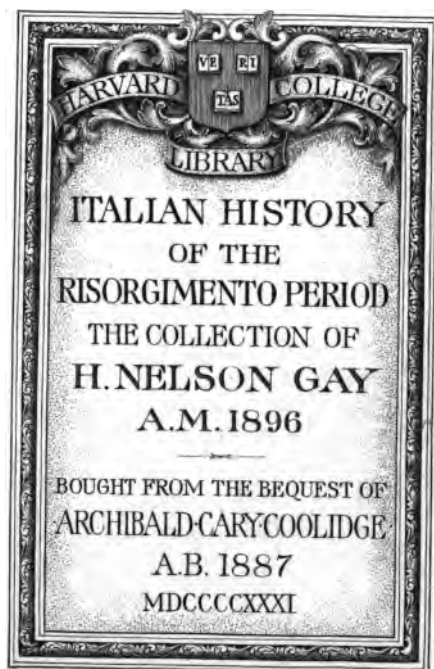
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Italy 1860 p.172

2nd. 1860-1861
1860-1861
THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

New Series.

N^o XXXVII. JANUARY, 1861.

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LONDON:

GEORGE MANWARING,
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8, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND.

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THE
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REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1861.

ART. I.—ANCIENT DANISH BALLADS.

Ancient Danish Ballads, translated from the Originals. By R. C. Alexander Prior, M.D. 2 vols. Williams and Norgate. London and Edinburgh. 1860.

A CENTURY, wanting five years, has now elapsed since the Bishop of Dromore published his celebrated "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry." One hundred and seventy-four years previously to this first appearance of the "Percy Ballads" (A.D. 1765), an analogous collection of old Danish songs had been issued by Vedel (A.D. 1591). In forming this collection Vedel, we are told, had "no idea of the antiquarian interest attached to the songs of his country." He appears to have been actuated by no other motive than the desire to contribute to the innocent entertainment of his readers.

If to Vedel be assigned the honour of editorial priority in the recension of these poetic effusions of his ancestral compatriots, a kindred merit must be conceded to Sophia, the wife of Frederick II., King of Denmark, as the direct instrument of their publication. This queen, if we may credit the received tradition, once became the temporary guest of the great astronomer, Tycho Brahe. Designing but a brief visit to the illustrious philosopher, she was detained some days at his residence, at the observatory in Hveen, by the prevailing adverse weather. To fleet away the leaden moments the Pastor Anders Sörensön Vedel, who happened to be present, was requested to read before her Majesty some of the ballads which formed his collection. So delighted was the queen with these spirited productions, that she expressly commanded Vedel to complete and publish his projected

[Vol. LXXV. No. CXLVII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XIX. No. I. B

work ; constantly renewing and enforcing the commission "both by oral and written messages," till its final execution in 1591, when this first instalment of the ballad literature of Denmark was printed, and we presume published at Ribe by the patriotic pastor.*

This collection, which consisted of one hundred ballads celebrating the feats or fortunes of kings and heroes, seems to have been primarily intended for the diversion of the peasantry. Hence the pervading fault of Vedel's edition ; a preference of the extravagant to the natural, exhibited in the adoption of the most preposterous readings which the ancient copies afford. Injudiciously, however, as Vedel may have executed his duties as editor, he is still entitled to grateful recognition as the preserver of many characteristic ancient ballads, as the discoverer of "a fountain of fine poetry" to Danish writers of succeeding generations,—in a word, as the Bishop Percy of the north of Europe.

A hundred and four years after the publication of Vedel's collection, Peter Syv reprinted the work, enhancing its value by the addition of a hundred hitherto unedited ballads. Since that time (1695) various other collections have been made ; the best of which are incorporated into the "*Danske Viser*" (ancient ballads) of Nyerup, Abrahamson and Rahbek, published in 1812-13 ; "a work," says Mr. Howitt, "of singular value from the prominent fact that the great portion of these ballads are the common property of the whole of Scandinavia," Sweden, Norway, the Faroe, the Shetland Isles, and Iceland, which alike possess a rich inheritance of legendary song, being all included in this geographical circumscription.

Of the total number of ballads thus published by the compilers of the "*Danske Viser*," amounting to two hundred and twenty-two, Dr. Prior, following the Danish originals as edited by them, has rendered into suitable English verse no fewer than one hundred and seventy-three, or about one-third of the entire ballad literature of Scandinavia. Distributing his poetical selection into four groups, namely,—the Heroic, Legendary, Historical, and Romantic, the translator prefixes to these popular lays a prefatory notice, containing significant elucidations, critical, traditionary, or historical. It is these annotations, the general introduction, and the ballads themselves, which supply or suggest the subject matter of this article.

The origin and authorship of these ballads constitute problems

* See *Literature and Romance of Northern Europe*, by William and Mary Howitt.

of difficult solution. Many of them are considered by the present translator to be popular representations of older tales, and he quotes with approval the remark of Sir Walter Scott, that "The farther our researches are extended, the more we shall see ground to believe that the romantic ballads of later times are, for the most part, abridgments of ancient metrical romances, narrated in a smoother stanza and more modern language." Thus the apparent originality of the Danish poems vanishes as our acquaintance with those of other countries increases, and we learn to see in the Northern ballads elements common "to the beautiful romances of the South; those, namely, of Spain and Portugal, the Italian novels, and the lays and fabliaux of the French trouvères, which embody so much of the floating fiction of the Middle Ages."

The ballad literature of mediæval Europe seems to have grown into general and simultaneous recognition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At any rate the language in which they are composed affords, in Dr. Prior's opinion, a satisfactory evidence that it was not till the sixteenth and the preceding century that they assumed their present form. Decidedly rejecting the hypothesis of Robert Jamieson and the Swedish historian Geijer, of the derivation of English, Scotch, and Scandinavian ballads from a common historical centre, in "that remote period when we formed one nation together before the immigration of our ancestors to this island," Dr. Prior unhesitatingly subscribes to the theory of Landstad of the international communication of these ancient songs by the northern races of the Baltic and German Ocean, whose kindred character of mind led them all to adopt and localize, in the centuries already indicated, the same ballad, which separately delighted each, as it travelled from the land of its birth to the successive countries of its adoption.

At this period Europe was distinguished by a general community of culture. Its religion, its chivalry, its architecture, and even its hand-writing, were identical. It possessed, in addition to any private or special funds of song, a floating capital of numerous lays and romances, "the common property of all nations." And not only the argument or fable, but "the same forms of expression, the same conventional phrases," the same metre and representation, re-appeared among all. In short, what Herder says in his "*Volkslieder*," of the English and German ballads is, continues Dr. Prior, of universal application. "The whole tone of this poetry is so uniform, that one may often translate word for word, turn for turn, inversion for inversion. In all these countries of Europe the spirit of chivalry has only one vocabulary, and therefore one mode of relating things. Ballads and romances have everywhere the same nouns and ad-

jectives, the same kind of terminations (Fallendungen), the same freedom of metre, even the same favourite tunes, the same romantic plants, beasts, and birds."

Rejecting, then, the hypothesis of any extraordinary antiquity, we incline to acquiesce in the opinion that none of our own, or the Danish ballads, are older than the thirteenth, and few are older than the fifteenth century.

Next to the problem of their date and origin comes the question of their authorship. Of course it is quite impossible even to conjecture who were the individual composers. But Dr. Prior, Oehlenschläger, N. M. Petersen, and other critics, are of opinion that their generic authorship can be determined. We are indebted, they say, for most of them to ladies. To justify this decision they adduce two arguments—1. The manuscripts in which they are preserved, and many of which are three hundred years old, "are almost every one of them in female hand-writing, which alone might lead us to expect that females had composed them." 2. "The wives of these poems invariably give their husbands the best possible advice, and men who are pictured as fine characters follow their advice;" a complimentary implication which, as gallantry was not a characteristic of the Scandinavian, it is supposed precludes the possibility of a more energetic derivation.

This reasoning, however, appears to us inconclusive. For, first, the superfluous leisure enjoyed by the high-born dames and damsels of the middle ages would naturally enough be employed in making transcripts of the popular lays sung by the minstrel to his harp in hall or bower; the productions probably of various romantic poets, whose appreciation of the superior moral grace which it is etiquette to consider the peculiar appanage of the beautiful sex, induced them, in a period of deadly and unreasoning masculine outrage, to attribute to many a fair and gentle lady, who was all their fancy painted her, an instinctive wisdom denied to her wilful and impetuous lord. In the second place, the old Danes, however deficient in the practice of gallantry, may have been at least partial recipients of its theory, glorifying women in the abstract as so many embodied ideals of goodness, while occasionally giving women in the concrete very rough usage; in short, behaving like fetish-adors in other ages and countries who first worship and then "wallop" their divinities. Such conduct seems by no means incompatible with the veneration which, no doubt, in common with their chivalrous ancestors, they entertained for the sybils, priestesses, and prophetesses of the supernatural foretime. Nor is this domestic inconsistency without a parallel. Their Teutonic relations in Germany habitually ascribed to the women of their country a something holy and prophetic, duly honouring

the advice, and regarding the responses of these interesting oracles; and yet in startling contrast with this submissive and reverential state of mind, visiting with shameful expulsion and flagellation, such of these Sybilline ladies, as in that pre-Shakspearian age had practically justified the nomenclature of the sarcastic Hamlet, when that accomplished misogynist took to calling frailty names!

There is however one consideration that gives some show of probability to the assertion, that many of these ballads were really written by women. For in the ethical evaluations with which they present us, not only wives but younger sons, are at an enormous premium, while elder sons no less than husbands are comparatively at a discount. From such an appreciation, it might be inferred, that these small revolutionary epics were composed by the natural enemies of big brothers, namely, the little ones. But an alternative hypothesis is equally admissible here. The frequent preference of mothers for the latest edition of their own fair image is, we understand, an acknowledged fact. A presumption is thus afforded, that the favourite younger son and the unpopular elder brother of these poems, are really creations of the maternal mind, which magnifies the virtues of one child, because he had the grace to be born last, and exaggerates the vices of the other because he was wicked enough to be born first. But whether the arguments adduced to establish the claims of women to the original copyright of the majority of these poems be accepted as conclusive or not, the pretensions of the sterner sex to the authorship of some of them is perhaps little likely to be disputed.

The following ballad, for instance, intended to celebrate woman's ready invention and persistent power of response under the trying fire of cross-examination, will scarcely be suspected of emanating from the female Muse:—

THE READY REPLY.

“‘But sister dear,’ a brother said,
 ‘Do you then never mean to wed?’
 ‘Oh wait! at this, my tender age,
 I would not yet my hand engage.’
 ‘Yet, might I trust the public voice,
 You have already made the choice.’
 ‘So people talk, and talk they may,
 Believe not all that gossips say.’
 ‘And who was then the handsome knight,
 Rode from your door with morning’s light?’
 ‘No knight, no high-born cavalier,
 My stable-boy and his horse were here.’

'Then near your bed two pair of shoes !
 Now whose were they ? pray tell me whose !'
 'No man's shoe, brother, think not so,
 'Twas but my slippers lay below.'
 'And then that little cherub head
 Was lately sleeping upon your bed ?'
 'No cherub that, or baby small ;
 What lay there sleeping was my doll.'
 'How heard I then in passing by,
 Within your door an infant cry ?'
 'So cry not infants, 'twas my maid,
 Because of a wardrobe key mislaid.'
 'And pray what might the cradle mean,
 So slyly hid behind the screen ?'
 'No cradle ; be not rash to blame,
 You've seen perhaps my broidery frame ;
 And if you, brother, more will know,
 With answers I shall not be slow.
 When women fail to make reply,
 Then look to see the ocean dry.'

The frail heroine of this ballad probably fared better than some of her delinquent sisters. For the rough northmen had evidently no sympathy with the sentimental licentiousness of the southern Courts of Love. These ferocious moralists made short work with interesting lovers. They burned their offending wives at the faggot, and hanged their paramours. In the case of unmarried persons, but possibly only when betrothal, regarded as the equivalent of marriage, rendered the offence tantamount to a violation of matrimonial fidelity, the parties were subjected to the same punishment as conjugal transgressors. Thus in one of the ballads in this collection, Sedselille informs Medelvold of her mother's determination to send her to the faggot, and him to the gallows. So in the ballad of Sir Buris and Christine, King Waldmar calls for five heavy scourges, with which he lashes his sister to death. Death, in fact, seems to have been the recognised punishment of women who loved deeply, but not well, in other parts of Europe besides Denmark. In a Swedish ballad, called "Pehr Wattenman," a son puts his own mother on the fire ; in a Scotch one, entitled "Lady Maisry," a brother his own sister, and in a Spanish romance a mother threatens her daughter with the stake if "maid she is no more."

The penal code in those good old days was extremely savage. The rack and wheel were in constant requisition. Criminals were sometimes buried alive. Admitting that the lawlessness of the times required a severe and even appalling treatment, it can scarcely be doubted that the ferocity of the punishments tended to augment the brutality they were designed to diminish. But

turning from this frightful feature of the age, let us try to constitute ourselves the interested "spectators of a moving panorama," to call up a picture, however rude and unfinished, of that Scandinavian past with which our own is not unremotely allied, for the blood of the old Norse sea kings beats with a prouder pulse in their English descendants. It will be pleasant to get a glimpse, through what in some sort are contemporary documents, of that rude barbaric life of the Northernmen; to watch them in their homes, to "look into the dry schedule of their household effects," and take an inventory of their furniture, jewellery, wardrobe, and other valuables; to notice how they were lodged, clothed, and fed; how they lived, suffered and rejoiced; to observe, in short, the moral and material heaven under which they sunned themselves.

We will begin with a description of the Borg or Manorhouse of the Danish country gentleman. In the widest extension of the term the Borg consisted of various detached buildings, ranged in the Borgegaard, or court-yard, access to which was obtained through the Borgeled, or entrance gate. The Borg, in the restrictive sense of the word, stood in front; the apartments for the ladies and retainers at the side; the stables, kitchen, and Stenstue, or lying-in-room, in other parts of the yard. This yard was the play-ground of the pages, and the place of exercise of the troopers. Many a scuffle came off here; and many a scolding was given and taken. From it, the visitor, drawing up his scarlet cloak as he crossed, approached the door of the mansion. Here he was received sometimes by the master, cup in hand; sometimes by one of the ladies of the house; with the courteous preliminary offer of mead or wine. Usually the guest ascends the stairs (*Höielofts bro'*) to the ladies' chamber (*Höieloft*) on the first floor. Below, it would seem, sat the master with his troopers, at the broad table in the banquet room. The sleeping arrangements of the family are not easily understood. Perhaps they varied with the rank or number of its members. Sometimes they all seem to have slept in one room; sometimes the chambers are described as separate. The bride's apartment, called the Bridal House, was undoubtedly a detached room. Some of the usages of the dormitory were very primitive. The servant lads slept in the same bedroom with the ladies of the family. Thus in the ballad called "*The Wake*" we find a page "in his red arrayed" quietly conversing with the queen as she lies in bed! Nor was this all: but with a simplicity worthy of the earliest days of paradise, highborn lady and simple swain reposed in unadorned beauty, yet with apparent innocence, in that seemingly dangerous proximity. This fashion, imported from Eden, appears at one time to have prevailed in all the most civilized parts of the West. Thus

Dr. Prior quotes a Spanish ballad which tells us how *Rosaflorida* was heard weeping by "a swain that in her chamber slept:" and introduces us, in a French Romance, to a most amusing old woman, whose undisguised astonishment passes into transcendent admiration, when she sees some fair maiden, on retiring to her couch, retain, in defiance of all precedent, that delicate garment which, borrowing the pretty euphemism of Leigh Hunt, we will designate "The Gentle Armour."

From the mansion itself we pass to its external environments. Running round the house, and having a covering over it, might be seen a terrace rising a foot and a half from the ground. This was called the "Svale," and formed the general rendezvous of the family. In these ballads we read often of the *Rosenlund*, the scene of so many adventures. The *Rosenlund* is supposed by Professor Vedel Simonsen to be a small park . . . between the entrance gate and the house, and to have had its name from the rosebuds, the young ladies, who frequented it! This explanation, however, is scornfully rejected by Dr. Prior, who substitutes for the "little cockney park" of the learned professor, the greenwood of our own ballads,—a coppice of small trees and bushes, through which a horseman could ride, as distinguished from a dense forest of timber trees. Such a wood of rose he thinks a very likely place to meet an Elfin maiden in! Personal distinctions of rank seemed not to have been very definitely marked among the ancient Danes. The ballads indeed relate principally to the fortunes and adventures of persons of illustrious birth; but the systematic chivalry of the south was perhaps but imperfectly recognised by the honest, rough, unsentimental men of the north. Accordingly, Dr. Prior considers the knights, of whom we read in these old lays, to have been "many of them men of great wealth and local power, in whose courts youths of gentle lineage were probably educated and brought up; destined to enter afterwards their patrons' service as valets or pages." The duty of the page was to attend on the ladies night and day; to run errands, and collect news for them. The *svend*, or swain, appears to have been the personal attendant of a knight, holding, unlike the squire of the south, a lower rank in life than that of his master. The *ung* or young is supposed to indicate a youth of family, perfectly independent, but neither old nor rich enough to be a knight. The *Herr* probably denotes the possessor of a house and property. Its English representative in this translation of ancient ballads is merely "sir."

Coming now to the heroes and heroines of these old songs, we find the king dwelling in a castle, presiding over fort and tower, feasting amid his knights and swains, or leading his gallant champions armed, and sword in hand. On his head he wears a

gleaming crown of ruddy gold ; on his arm he carries a shield with a lion blazoned on it. The queen is housed in a palace of wood, seated on a cushioned bench, veiled in a purple cloak, arrayed in red attire, or clothed in silk. She has a crown on her head ; she wears a jewelled band ; she uses a golden comb. Princesses and noble maidens also wear crowns of gold or of silver, or wreath their tresses with chaplets of pearl, or are attired in ermine and martin. Among their ornaments are enumerated shoes latched with silver ; rings and buckles of gold. Mantles of blue and scarlet, and embroidered silk, and silver-hilted knives, are among the gifts promised to little Kirstin. Fair Hyldestil sits in her bower stitching caps, and, while her thoughts go woolgathering, sewing with silken thread what properly should be sewed with gold. Noble maidens spin, weave, and braid ; the brodered stag and brodered doe run in the green woodland of their silken picture. Such was woman's mission in those primitive days, when even kings' daughters were expected to make their husbands' clothes. The costume of the men is very gorgeous. Sir Bosmer wears a shirt (of silk for certain) ; a jacket of blue velvet and buckskin boots, with gilded spurs. Sir Asbiorn Snare spends a fortune in buying garments of silk and sindal (cypress or sarcenet). The knights shine resplendent in burnished coats of mail ; they carry emblazoned shields ; they wear lace, velvet jackets, silken shirts, purple mantles, as occasion serves. A scarlet robe seems to have been the court dress or vest of honour, and was worn as a rule on all grand occasions. Persons of lower degree wore wadmal, a kind of serge or homespun woollen cloth.* Thus in the ballad of Ebbé Galt, the farmer is attired in a coat of gray ; and Kragelille, the peasant-shamming heroine of another old romance, wraps herself in a cloak of coarse gray wool, and a goat's skin.

It is not difficult to conjecture what were the pastimes and occupations of these far-off days. Song and tale were held in high esteem ; the harp was played both by man and woman ; dice rattled on the board ; and fast young ladies, seemingly up to everything from literal pitch and toss to metaphorical manslaughter, lost their hearts and other valuables, during fascinating games of chess, in which these reckless gamblers played for none but the highest stakes—their own peerless beauty and priceless love. Of course they always played the losing game ! Below, the castle-yard rang with the knightly exercise, and the greensward was merry with the dance. A characteristic incident

* Worn in England in the time of Edward I. See "*Liber Albus*," p. 198. Translated by H. T. Riley, M.A. Skarlakan or scarlet, opposed to Wadmal, was the generic name of a fine cloth, whose varieties were red, green, and blue.

in these ballads is the perpetual ascension up the high bower stairs, and as in some of them the scrape of the violin is heard, we are almost inevitably reminded of the once popular ditty,

“Such a getting up stairs and a playing of the fiddle.”

Of the viands consumed in those old days, we can say but little. We hear of roast and boiled in general, of fish, beef, flitches of bacon, porridge, loaves of bread. The goblet of wine is for ever circulating; the “luscious mead” is at the stranger’s service; and the sparkling ale is to be had for the asking.

Rapidly glancing at a few of the most characteristic usages of this somewhat indeterminate and mythical period (for due allowance must be made for the poetic exaggeration as well as for the fluctuating chronology of this ballad poetry), we come first to the peculiar institution of all ages and all countries, the matrimonial. Dr. Prior, scarcely able to decide what did constitute a marriage in those days, is inclined to think that the priest’s blessing, uttered at the bedside, was the most essential part of the ceremony. We find more than one instance of a change of bridegroom at the last hour. Young ladies were often awarded to their future husbands without the slightest reference to their own feelings or wishes. The ring was not the token of marriage but betrothal. Roses and lilies were the accredited emblems of an engagement which appears to have been most obligingly regarded as equivalent to a civil marriage. The young Danish girl delighted to wear her long flowing yellow locks flung loosely over her shoulders. She forebore to cover her head till she had forfeited her right to wear the golden crown or maiden coronet, the virgin crant of Shakspeare’s Ophelia, answering to the silken snood once, perhaps still, worn in the north of Scotland, and recalling the corresponding ornament of the fallen Margaret in the characteristic scene in Faust, where the spiteful gossiping Bessie declares—“The boys will tear her garland for her, and we will cut straw before her door.”

The maiden coronet was of course laid aside on marriage. After the betrothal, a very serious ceremony, the bridegroom elect was called Fæstemand, and the maiden Fæstemo (from the word *fæsten* to fasten, or secure), the correspondents of the French fiancé, or fiancée, and the English true-love, properly troth-promised, from the Danish ‘*trolovet*.’ At the betrothal, presents called “Fæstegave,” originally the money value of the bride and paid to her parents, were given to the lady elect. The Fæstegave treasured by the wife, as a sort of marriage certificate, seems in the course of time to have become the wife’s dowry. The “Morgengave,” or Morning-gift (recognised in England in Anglo-Saxon times), was a “present which the bride was entitled to demand,” and which could not be refused by the husband, the day after her wedding. It

often consisted of a landed estate, and was tantamount to a marriage settlement. Notwithstanding the ferocious love of virtue among the old Danes, there was nothing discreditable in living with a mistress. "It was in fact," says Dr. Prior, "a morganatic marriage, a compromise with the law that forbad the union of those who were not of equal rank." Second marriages, in Denmark, as well as in other countries, were not viewed very favourably; step-mothers, at least, were in universally ill repute. In the Danish ballads young girls are represented as inconsolable for the loss of their mothers; a representation which our translator, who thinks it inconceivable that they should have felt much affection for mothers who were ready to give them to any husband without consulting their feelings, or to burn them for very venial transgressions, pronounces a stereotyped commonplace. It is certainly "beyond everything as God Almighty should ha' made women so;" but we are not sure that he hasn't. Doubtless, however, with all their rigid notions of parental justice and prerogative, the practice of our Scandinavian ancestresses was not unfrequently better than their theory. We can adduce, at least, one most pathetic instance of the strength and reality of the maternal instinct even in the Spartan dames of Denmark. In the touching ballad of the "Buried Mother," Swain Dyring marries a lovely maiden. Seven years she shares his home with him, and every year presents him with one of the sweetest children eyes ever saw. At the end of the seven years she dies, and the faithless Swain (as faithless swains will do), wins another maiden's hand. The new bride steps, grim and harsh, from her gilded wain. She repels the weeping children; locks up the bread and beer; takes away their light and fire; gives them straw to lie upon; and behaves in fact as an "*injuncta noverca*" *ought* to behave. Cold and starving, the motherless children lament over their sad fortunes.*

"They cried one evening till the sound
 Their mother heard beneath the ground.
 She heard as in her grave she lay,
 'But go I must their pain to stay.'
 At God's high throne she bent her knee,
 'O! let me, Lord, my children see.'
 And such her prayer and tale of woe,
 That God in mercy let her go.

* * * * *
 As through the streets she glided by,
 Loud all the hounds howled to the sky.
 She reached her husband's court-yard gate,
 And there her eldest daughter sate.

* For euphony's sake we occasionally omit a redundant word in Dr. Prior's able translations.

'O! daughter mine! why so in tears?
 How fare my other little dears?'
 'No mother at all art thou of mine,
 Thou'rt not like her, though fair and fine.
 My mother's cheeks were white and red,
 But thine are pale and like the dead.'
 'And how should I be pale and fair,
 When death has bleached the cheeks I bear,
 Or how should I be white and red,
 So long, my child, as I've been dead?'
 She found her children's sleeping place,
 And wet with tears each little face.
 She nursed them all with mother's care,
 She combed and dressed their silky hair."

Lastly she takes the babe in her lap and feeds it. These gentle duties fulfilled, she sends the eldest daughter to summon to her presence the ungracious husband and unnatural father. Swain obeys the summons. She chides, upbraids, and warns him; and now as the red, the black, and the white cock announce, with treble clarion, the dawn of day, the pale lady returns to her cold churchyard home, not without some consoling prescience, we would hope, of the good effects which followed this revisiting of the glimpses of the moon. For—

"Whenever hound was heard to whine,
 They gave the children bread and wine.
 Whenever hound was heard to bark,
 They thought the dead walked in the dark.
 Whenever hound was heard to howl,
 They thought they saw a corpse's cowl."

The social characteristics of Danish life recognised in these ballads are many and various. Of the more prominent phenomena, we may instance the compurgation of guilt by twelve friends of the accused, general on the Continent in the mediæval period, and possibly the origin of our jury, as instituted about the time of Henry III.; vindictive retribution, grounded on the principle of blood for blood, but mitigated by the acceptance of pecuniary compensation; the horrible custom of burying women alive, and throwing criminals, especially pirates, into a snake fen or enclosure filled with thorns and venomous reptiles; the throwing of mould over a lady who took the veil, in token of her being dead to the world; the wearing of white as the colour of mourning; the practice of leechcraft by fair hands; the partial observance of knightly usage; the compulsory attendance of the clergy in the battle field; and the constant migration to the court of Byzantium of the Scandinavian exiles or adventurers, who enter-

ing the Imperial service preserved in common with their English brothers in arms, till the last age of the empire, that inheritance of spotless loyalty, by which, under the name of Varangians, our great historian tells us they were so nobly distinguished.* "With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians."

From this imperfect sketch of Danish life and manners, which in some of its details carries us back to the old heroic or anti-mediæval period, we pass at once to a closer survey of the poems which have furnished our shadowy outline.

For the natives of the North the Heroic Ballads, which paint the manners and celebrate the martial deeds of their valiant ancestors, "whose fleets terrified all the coasts of Europe, whose grave-hills are still pointed out to the traveller, whose very weapons are preserved in their museums," have a peculiar interest. Their characteristics are frankness and straightforwardness of expression, a rough, healthy barbaric morality, with a perfect freedom from all rose-pink sentiment. There is a rustic heartiness, with touches of a practical-joke-kind-of-humour about them. A bracing Norland breeze seems to breathe through them, blowing away all southern sensibilities and exotic fine feelings. Their poetic atmosphere has a good salt smell of the sea in it, or, at furthest, is redolent of blossoms that take the winds of *March* with beauty. Turning from the stern majesty of "Siward and Brynhild," the Æschylean grandeur of the "Sword of Vengeance," the picturesque power of "Grimild's Revenge," and the romance that celebrates the droll heroism of the son of Velant the lame, the Vulcan of the North, the prototype of Walter Scott's redoubtable craftsman, Wayland Smith,—we select, for its spirited "go" and "Brobdignian" humour, the only ballad in which an Edda poem has been traditionally preserved, "Thor of Asgard." The Thusser king, it should be premised, is supposed by Dr. Prior to be a Turkish potentate, not a very satisfactory supposition, we think. The hammer of gold, Miölner, crusher of giants, which Thor of Asgard, home of the Asir, has lost during the winter, and which Loki, flame or heat, recovers at the return of spring from the northern genii of cold and darkness, is the not inappropriate symbol of the thunderbolt. A Trolld is any supernatural or extraordinary being, from a giant to a magician, or a dwarf to a deist.

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Vol. x. p. 221.

Ancient Danish Ballads.

"There rode the mighty of Asgard, Thor,
His journey across the plain,
And there his hammer of gold he lost,
And sought so long in vain.

'Twas then the mighty of Asgard, Thor,
His brother his bidding told,
'Up thou and off to the Northland Fell,
And seek my hammer of gold.'

He spake, and Loki the serving man,
His feathers upon him drew,
And launching over the salty sea,
Away to the Northland flew.

He stopped, as he crossed the castle yard,
To cloak him in scarlet pall,
And greeted the hideous Thusser king,
And entered his lofty hall.

'Welcome, Loki, thou serving-man !
Right heartily welcome here !
Now tell me how matters at Asgard stand,
And how in the country near.'

'In castle at Asgard all is well,
And eke in the country near,
But Thor has his golden hammer miss'd
And therefore am I come here.'

'Hark thou my words ! No more shall Thor
His hammer again behold,
For fifteen fathoms and forty deep
It's buried beneath the mold.

His hammer no more gets Thor again,
From under the solid earth,
Till mine is the maiden Fredensborg,
And all that ye all are worth.' "

The handsome, malicious, crafty Loki, ever plotting against the Asir, but ever compelled to serve them (as subtle destructive force must ever serve bright intelligence), flies back to Thor with the answer. The haughty Fredensborg indignantly rejects the proposition, declaring that even a Christian man would be a preferable bridegroom to that lothely Troid. Whereon Loki, as we understand, interposes—

" 'Then let us our aged father take (Thor),
And comb him and dress him well,
And bear him in guise of a maiden fair,
Away to the Northland Fell.

They brought her to court, the blooming bride,
And into the banquet hall,
And largess there with an open hand
Was dealt to the minstrels all.

They took her, the young and bashful bride,
To sit on her bridal chair,
And forward stepped the Thusser king,
Himself to serve the fair.

A whole ox-carcase the maid ate up,
And thirty sides of swine,
And took to her meat seven hundred loaves,
Before she would taste of wine.

A whole ox-carcase the maid ate up,
Her loaves and her bacon first,
And then twelve barrels of ale she drank
Before she could quench her thirst.

The Thusser king as he paced the floor,
His hands on his bosom beat;
'Who then, and whence, is the youthful bride,
So monstrous a meal can eat?'

And smiling beneath his scarlet cloak,
Thus Loki, the page, replied,
'Seven days it is since she tasted food,
For longing to be thy bride.'

Then brought eight champions stout and strong
The hammer upon a tree,
And heaved it up for the youthful bride,
And laid it across her knee.

Up rose from her seat that tender bride,
Her hammer she took in hand,
And only the sober truth to tell,
She brandished it like a wand.

The first she slew was the Thusser king,
So lothely and fierce and tall:
She came indeed to the wedding feast,
She slaughtered them great and small.

'And now,' said Loki, the wily page,
'Tis time that we all retire,
And home to our country bend our steps,
And comfort our widow sire.'

A similar achievement is celebrated in the ballad of Sir Genselin, where the lady Brynild—delicate young virgin!—after a light repast on two oxen, five tuns of ale and seven of porridge, con-

cludes the amusements of the evening by flourishing her stay-lace end with such good effect that she leaves no fewer than fifteen champions dead "out on the grassy lea."

The feather dress worn by Loki recalls the winged sandals of Mercury. This light and airy costume is very fashionable with the ladies and gentlemen of these ballads. In one of them, the young prince Gladenswein tricks himself out in his mother's old flying finery, the queen carelessly remarking, that when midsummer comes again, she will make herself another and better pair of wings. We have not been able to discover the secret of this mysterious tailoring; but it appears to have been known to more than one happy lover, in Denmark, in the days that are no more. Of these the most noteworthy was evidently Master Hildebrand, who, to win the love of a fair lady, who had vowed to give her hand to none but a flying knight, "learned to dress him in guise of bird," and, in plumes of silver and wings of gold, came fluttering round her bower, nearer and nearer, till finally accepting her dainty invitation (for something seemed to draw her to him), he flitted in, to the lady's musical warble—

"O! bird! pretty bird! wert thou but tame,
I'd seat thee here on my broidery frame.
Oh! bird! pretty bird! wert thou but mine,
I'd set for thy perch my gilded shrine."

The dew falls. The maiden retires. The dark hours pass slowly. As the morning bell rings to matins, the gentle bird twitters. The lady wakes, in fear and wonder, and asks who is in the bower? "Tis only your pretty bird," replies the maid.

"And down from his pole he flew below,
And strutted him boldly to and fro:
He flew and perched on the lady's bed,
And hopped and chirrup'd about her head:
He played with her hair, her pearls and band,
And gently he pecked the lady's hand.
'Dear bird, wert thou from feathers free
None other I'd take to wed but thee.'
'You've plighted your word, and now be true,
Give hither your hand, my claw take you.'
The lady she gave the bird her hand,
And free from feathers she saw him stand.
He shook his limbs from the plumage free,
And straight a gallant young knight was he.
'By day in thy cage thou still shalt keep,
By night shalt here in my bosom sleep.'
So long did the knight her chamber share,
Till Ingelille two little babies bare,
For summer amusement the lady won
A bonny fair maid and a comely son.

Her father came in the babes to see,
 And thus to his daughter dear, said he,
 'O say, my daughter, whom thou dost call
 The father to these pretty babes so small?'
 'Dear father, to you the truth I'll tell,
 I found them both in a woody dell.
 I raised them from off the cold damp ground,
 And here have a foster mother found.'
 'Well, well, my daughter, so let that be,
 The babies perhaps belong to thee.'"

These babes in the wood are not obsolete yet! No one ever knows how they come, but there they are, indubitable "infant phenomena!" The present mysterious arrivals, however, happily bring no trouble to their casual discoverer. The father promises Sir Hildebrand fifteen estates if he will wed the fair philanthropist; but Sir Hildebrand, with a supreme contempt for all such sublunary things, magnificently bids him keep his estates, and give him his daughter, and nothing more. In the end, our "lily flower" lays her grief aside, regardless henceforth of joke and banter, for "the knight she has wedded can wing the air." A somewhat dangerous accomplishment, as Ingellile may one day learn to her cost, when her gay aeronaut "takes a flight to heaven to-night, and leaves dull earth behind him!"

In this ballad it would appear that Sir Hildebrand in assuming the dress, acquires the proportions, and even the form of a bird. Instances of a still more miraculous transformation occur in these poems; metamorphoses as wonderful as those in Ovid, comparable even to the singular variations of form in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainment." Now we have a maiden bewitched into a werwolf, or into a snake, or into a linden tree; now we have a knight who, in the shape of a lindworm, entices a lady into his cave, and is restored to human shape by the sweetest and most welcome of kisses; or else a lothely elf, availing himself of the same exquisite panacea, is disenchanted into the most beautiful King Charming that ever lived. Sometimes these changes of form are effected with bewildering facility and in astonishingly rapid succession, as in the poem of the Nightingale:—

"I well know where a castle stands,
 And richly it is dight,
 With silver and with ruddy gold,
 And marble polished bright.

Within its yard a linden stands,
 With tender leaflets hung,
 And dwells therein a Nightingale
 That sweetly tunes her tongue.

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G

A gentle knight at midnight hour
 Came riding there along,
 And stood awhile in wonder lost
 To hear the warbler's song.

'Now hark, thou little Nightingale,
 A lay I prithee sing:
 And then thy neck I'll hang with pearl,
 With beaten gold thy wing.'

'I value not the plumes of gold
 That you would have me wear.
 I roam the world a wild-wood bird,
 Whom man shall never snare.'"

* * * *

This winged Arab of the woods is reminded by the knight of the cold and hunger that await her when the trees are bare. To which the wanderer replies that it is not hunger, wind or snow that trouble her. She has a secret sorrow! The brawling mountain stream, she moralizes, may disappear in the valley; but "memory of one we love can never be so lost." 'Tis the old story with the old *dramatis personæ*: a fair lady in distress, a brave and gallant knight, and a wicked stepmother (stepmothers always are wicked). Transformed into a wolf by the runic spell of this domestic interloper, the knight had happily broken the spell and recovered his shape, but, continues our princess in disguise (for the Nightingale does duty for this second victim of a detestable social tyranny),

"I am still a little bird
 That flies on heath so wide,
 And pass in pain the weary hours,
 But most at winter-tide.

* * * *

'While others slept, I've on my bough
 Sung through the midnight hour,
 Nor ever found a better home
 Than in my greenwood bower.'

'Now hark thee, little Nightingale,
 With this my wish comply:
 The winter in my chamber sing,
 And off in summer fly.'

'Thanks to your offer, gentle knight,
 Your room I cannot share,
 For that my mother's spell forbids
 While feathered wings I wear.'"

The knight, however, watches his opportunity, and captures the unsuspecting Nightingale, as she sits musing, by the foot, carries her home, shuts door and window, and then sees her go through a whole menagerie of metamorphoses.

"To lion and to bear she turned,
And many monsters more,
Or as an ugly lindworm laughed,
And seemed athirst for gore."

The knight at last interposes, and by one of those operations so effective in the therapeutic practice of Fairyland, he terminates the series with one crowning transformation, by which his patient recovers (and a most wonderful recovery it is) her bright original shape:—

"He cut her with his little knife,
And drew a stream of blood.
And there at once before his eyes
A blooming maiden stood."

The runic spell of the wicked stepmother broken, the lady dries her tears, announces herself as daughter of the king and queen of Egypt, and is claimed as sister by the gallant wolf, who now in a far more presentable shape identifies in the pretty lady the companion and playfellow of childhood's happiest days.

"And was then Egypt's king thy sire,
And was thy mother queen?
Then thou art e'en my sister dear,
Who long a bird has been.

And loud was over house and land
The voice of joy and song,
That he that little bird had caught,
In linden lived so long."

We are referred by the translator of these poems, in a note, to a graceful Flemish poem, possibly the original of this Danish lay, which cannot be traced further back than the beginning of the last century. He also presents us with a parallel to the transformations here recorded, in those described in a Scottish ballad. In this singular composition, a youth who has been carried off by the fairies, tells his sweetheart, Janet, that these "good people" will turn him into an adder and a snake; and counsels her, as she would be his wife, whatever happens, to hold him fast. Janet, continues the narrator, held him fast as she had been directed to do, till, after many transformations, "they shaped him in her arms at last a mother-naked man"—the most frightful surely, suggests Dr. Prior, of all the shocking forms he assumed: and it certainly does sound very horrible! Janet, however, nothing daunted, very wisely "wrapped him in her green mantle, and saw her true love won;" which is pleasant to learn.

In the poem from which we have just quoted, mention is made of runic spells.

"One of the most remarkable characteristics of the ancient Scandi-

navian mythology (say the authors of the Literature and Romance of the North), was the mighty power which was attributed to runes, or the old Norse letters. By them, Odin, who was the great master of runes, was represented as capable of doing the most miraculous things. By runes he compelled the Vala to awake from the dead in the realms of Hela, and answer his inquiries regarding the fate of Balder. By runes he could vanquish armies, destroy the edge of weapons, raise or lay tempests on land or sea, put out fires, fill the hearts of men with terror, or tranquillize the heart in deepest sorrow. But not Odin only, but all gods, and many of the giants and giantesses, or enchantresses, kings, queens, prophetesses, Valkyrior, and poets possessed the secret and power of the runes. These runes were the ancient, primitive, rudely shaped letters of the Gothic race. They were cut on staves of wood, called Runstafvar, or Rimstafvar, or on rocks and stones."

It is a singular fact that this Scandinavian alphabet was never rendered available for literary purposes. At most it was employed only to write an occasional letter; while the conservation of tales, poems, and historic narratives, was entrusted to the practised and disciplined, but fallacious and unchecked memories of Scalds and Sagamen. Reserved almost exclusively to form inscriptions on staves and memorial stones, the Norse letters were, in the popular belief, accredited with a mysterious power or magical efficacy, which was supposed to be immanent in them. It is not difficult to explain the genesis of this superstition.

"The people saw that through these runes ideas were communicated, and their imaginations were easily excited to credit any wonders that were attributed to them. They were precisely in the case of the South-Sea Islanders, who set up and worshipped a chip on which Williams, the missionary, had written a message to his wife. They were persuaded that there was a spirit in the chip; and the ancient Scandinavians, in their superstitious simplicity, were persuaded that there was a mighty spirit in the runes."*

This magical alphabet, these letters that lived and talked, attained extraordinary popularity with all persons and classes in Denmark. Heroes and heroines, princes and princesses, the lovely maiden and the enamoured knight, the dwarf's daughter and the wicked stepmother—all effect their several purposes, ensuring conquest, inspiring love, securing power, gratifying malice. Of Runes there are many kinds. It is sufficient to enumerate Runes of Victory; Drink-runes; Runes of Freedom; Storm-runes; Herb-runes, for healing wounds; Mind-runes, for the acquisition of intellectual superiority; and Speech-runes, to prevent personal injury. Many instances of the efficacy of runes might be cited from these volumes. A curious instance occurs in the ballad of

* Literature and Romance of Northern Europe, vol. i., p. 71.

"Sir Tideman and Blidelill," where the knight lures the maiden on board his ship by a pair of potent runes, "two little scribbled chips," which he tosses on the sea, and which she finds on the shore, brings home and places under her pillow, to the sorrow and destruction of both. For, vexed at the discourteous taunt of her lover, poor Blidelill leaps into the "billows blue," and is drowned; and Sir Tideman, in his sore anguish, tossing aside his cloak and plunging into the sea, is buried in that wandering purple grave.

A happier fate attends the lovers in the "Retorted Rune." Here the love-sick Prince carves and throws the magical letters with such skill, that they leap up beneath the cloak and under the scarlet gown of the lady of his thoughts. Following the prescribed ceremony, Fair Margaret sits motionless out on the rocky fell for nine nights and nine long days, and so retorts the runic spell on the Prince, who then for the first time tells his love; lamenting that, in the silent prosecution of his suit, he had wasted no less than five years; a waste which, as the young lady coquettishly but sensibly remarked, he had no one to thank for but himself:

"Full five years earlier, noble Prince,
My hand you might have won;
If only what you've done to-day
You from the first had done."

i.e., ridden across the land like a man, and made a formal and intelligible declaration!

One of the most graceful and fascinating of the Ballads of Romance, the fourth group in this collection, admirably illustrates the Runic mesmerism, so popular in those old days. We give it here, noting first, that the King of Iceland whom it celebrates is a myth. There never was any King of Iceland. Iceland, like England the Italy of Denmark, stands for any distant country. The piping Jute in plaid dress is too considerable a figure to be passed over. Did Scotland, indeed, derive her national music and costume from the countrymen of this redoubtable Jutish knight?

SIR TONNÉ.

"Sir Tonné forth from Alsey rode,
His sword slung at his side,
Alike on tented field and sea,
A hero stout and tried.

"Sir Tonné to the green-wood rode,
To chase the hind and hare;
And there the Dwarf-King's daughter met,
With other maidens fair.

- "She sat with golden harp in hand,
Beneath a linden tree;
'See hither the knight Sir Tonné rides,
I'll make him come to me.'
- "'Sit down, sit down, my maidens all,
And thou, my page, be still;
I'll play a rune that shall with flowers
The field and meadows fill.'
- "She played a rune on golden harp,
And when she touch'd the string,
The wild bird sitting on the bough
His song forgot to sing.
- "The wild bird sitting on the bough
His song forgot to sing;
The hart that in the greed-wood skip'd
With joy forgot to spring.
- "Charm'd with her runes the meadow bloom'd,
And greener grew the wood;
In vain Sir Tonné spurred his steed,
Move he no longer could.
- "Sir Tonné sprang from off his horse,
No further wished to ride,
And to the Dwarf's fair daughter went,
And sat him at her side.
- "'All hail, Dwarf's daughter, lovely maid!
Of flowers the peerless rose!
No mortal man thy beauty sees,
But straight with passion glows.
- "'Hear me, Dwarf's daughter, beauteous maid
Plight thou thy love to me,
And all the days I have to live,
I'll faithful be to thee.'
- "'Oh stay, Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
Nor me thy homage bring;
My hand another lover claims,
Our own Dwarf-people's king.
- "'My father dwells in mountain cave,
His courtiers round him stand;
My mother dwells there, too, and plays
With gold in lily hand.
- "'Myself have stolen from out the cave
My golden harp to play;
But in a month my bridegroom comes
To fetch me hence away.'
- * * * *

"Out from the cave her mother came,
With fierce and angry mien;
'But how, then, Ulfhild, daughter mine,
Here in the wood so green?"

"'Twere better in thy mountain cave
To work thy bride-attire,
Than here to sit beneath a tree,
And strike the golden lyre.

"'The King of Dwarfs didst thou betroth,
To him thine honour plight;
Nor ought'st thus with runic strain
To've bound yon gallant knight.'

"The Dwarf-wife went with all her train
Within the cavern door;
And with her went Sir Tonné too,
But saw and heard no more.

"For o'er a chair she spread for him
A costly silken cloak,
And on it sat the knight in trance,
At cockerow first awoke.

"The Dwarf's wife call'd her little page,
And bade him bring the book,
And therewithal from off the knight
Her daughter's spell she took.

"'Awake! I've thee for honour's sake
Unbound from runic spell;
And full securely mayst thou now
My daughter's art repel.

"'And further still, Sir knight, to prove
What love for thee I bear,
I'll woo a gentle bride for thee,
A rose of beauty rare.'"

This "rose of beauty rare" is none other than the Princess Ermine, daughter of the Queen of Iceland, stolen, sought in vain, and now a captive maid in Upsal. Young Allevod, the nephew of the king, anticipating his own happy accession to the throne, intends some day to claim his beautiful prisoner for his bride. This project Thorellille, the dwarf's wife (who, notwithstanding her present heathenish connexion, was a good Christian born, being, in fact, sister of the lady Adeline, the mother of the fair captive), determines to defeat. Accordingly, giving all her interest to Sir Tonné, she invites him to become the rival of Allevod, and to this end furnishes the knight with the usual natural and supernatural appliances, a steed, a saddle, a broad red shield inlaid with jewels, golden spurs, a golden-braided dress, and a golden band with such potent runes inclosed in it, that when he speaks, "every

word as from a book shall sound." To these indispensable gifts from the mother, Ulfhild, the daughter (such love she bore the knight), adds a sword, a lance, the art of never losing his way, invulnerability, and victory. Thus equipped, and having drunk of the sparkling cup, though presented by the suspiciously ex-Christian hands of Thorelille, Sir Tonné rides with gleaming spear through the green-wood. On his way he is greeted by the dwarf, who, learning his errand, bids Sir Tonné, noble knight, ride on in peace, promising him, however, that he will find a champion in Upsal who will try his strength. Hearing this, Sir Tonné, like a valiant gentleman, rides bravely forward, enters Swedish land, and seeing, beneath a spreading tree, nine stalwart knights, ready armed, gives them fair and courteous challenge thus:—

"There stand ye nine stout Swedish knights,
Will ye your valour prove?
For ruddy gold, or glory fight,
Or for your lady love?"

"Upsake the first, Prince Allevod,
So proud was he and bold:
'Enough have we, and crave no more
Of glory or of gold.

"A noble maid at Upsal sits,
And Ermeline her name;
For her sake let us break a spear,
See which her hand shall claim."

"Their first charge rode with all their force,
Those gallant heroes twain;
And spears fell shiver'd on the grass,
And shields were rent in twain."

At the second charge, Allevod is unhorsed! He falls, never again to look a noble foe in the face. In vain the Swedish knights try to avenge him. Fortune is unfriendly to them, and Sir Tonné beats them all.

"Fain o'er their shoulders did the knights
Their purple mantles fling,
And mounted up to the lofty hall,
And stood before the king.

"A Jutish knight is come to land
With raiment pied and striped,
Eight knights he has wounded on the field,
So ill for them he piped.

"Eight knights he has wounded on the field,
And left them halt and lame;
And Allevod, thy nephew, kill'd,
Curse on his Jutish name!"

"Then answered them the aged king,
All with his long gray hair,
'Avenge me on the plaided Jute,
And sable ye shall wear.'

"Out rode those Swedish warriors all,
And thought a prize to gain,
But soon their laughter turn'd to woe,
And all their joy to pain."

There is no help for it. This Jutish man is invincible. Henceforth they must give up all thought of sable robe, lay aside their purple mantles, and wrap their limbs in cloth of wadmal gray. So fares it this day with these mournful, discomfited knights; but—

"Sir Tonné he to Upsal rode
With glory clad and grace;
The Swedish warriors dared no more
That doughty knight to face.

"He kill'd the bear that watch'd the door,
He broke the bar in twain:
And he released the lovely maid
So long in thrall had lain.

"The Swedish courtiers all were still,
No word escaped their tongue;
A grudging grim consent the Jute
From all of them had wrung.

"He worsted all those Swedish knights,
The lion and eke the bear,
And enter'd into the lofty bower,
To see that peerless fair.

"Welcome, Sir Tonné, gallant knight!
Right welcome thou to me!
For if I should the truth avow,
I've sorely long'd for thee.

"Twas told me while a little child
A foreign knight should come,
And Allevod, my gaoler, slay,
And take me with him home.

"And now, Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
Be true and good to me;
For in the world is other none
I rather wed than thee.'"

Sir Tonné hears, and like a gallant knight, clasps the willing fair, and bearing her off with all her treasure, brings her to his Jutland home, amid the joyous gratulations of the Alsey people. And now the news travels to Iceland, and Queen Adeline hears that her long-lost daughter is found. Sir Tonné is

summoned to the Iceland court. Launching his gallant ship, with sail spread on gilded mast, he reaches, after a two months' voyage, the wished-for land. The aged king and queen are waiting on the strand with glad welcome for the knight and his bride. No sooner do they step on shore, than the venerable monarch, in an ecstasy of generous delight, abdicates the crown, making a present of his island-kingdom to his popular and prosperous son-in-law.

"Now is Sir Tonné, gallant knight,
A happy man, I ween;
He rules in Iceland far and wide,
And sleeps with Ermeline.
"He's now become a mighty king,
Whom towns and forts obey,
And never wish the Swedish knights,
To see him come their way."

In selecting the passages cited from these ballads, we have made no attempt to preserve the distinction of groups into which the translator has thrown them, but naturally commencing with the first or heroic division, and following the thread of reflective or fanciful association, have extracted those portions which seemed best suited to our purpose. Of the numerous remaining ballads in the present collection, some are too long to admit of satisfactory exposition here: as, for instance, the pathetic and popular tale of Axel and Walborg. Yet if compelled to abstain from detailed description and continuous quotation, we may at least indicate the subject matter and general characteristics of these singular productions.

Briefly, then, we find among their number some that move us with their deep pathos and passionate imagination; some that charm us with their wild but delicate beauty, and some that are rigid as with Dantesque sternness. Others again are joyous, laughing, gamesome, sparkling with sportive grace or quaint fancy; while a third class are resonant with a schoolboy mirth that borders on horse-play. Their topics are very various, ranging from love and elopement to battle and murder; from sublime heroism and angelic goodness to deadly crime and tragic repentance. Extravagant, improbable, and outrageously impossible are the incidents and adventures which they commonly record. Now, a dreadful giant is trapped and destroyed; now, a good king rescues a lion from a horrible dragon; now, a valiant monk defends his cloister against twelve stalwart champions, and afterwards becomes its abbot; and now, flying from famine, which is far more credible, every third man in Denmark goes to seek his fortune in smiling Lombardy. Next we read of the destruction of a cannibal Trolld, or the safe convoy of a lady's

love-letter by a romantic raven. Presently, changing secular chronicle for ecclesiastical legend, we learn how Mary Magdalene does penance for her sins; how a martyred wife ascends to heaven in the shape of a white dove; or, how two cavaliers go hunting on the Sabbath-day, quarrel, and come to a bad end. There is nothing too astonishing for these ballads. Mermen and mermaids, hill-kings and dwarf-kings, water sprites, and knights in Elfland, are the ordinary inhabitants of their poetic world. Nature is charmingly capricious here, and has evidently no notion of regulating her actions by fixed laws and invariable uniformities. Accordingly, when a jealous king makes mincemeat of a noble Algrave, and serves him up for the queen's dinner, and her discriminating majesty, detecting the trick, takes the dear remains and dips them in Maribo well, we are not in the least surprised to find these come together again, and form an entire Christian man. In the same way, when a roasted cock crows on the table of king Herod, to announce the birth of Jesus, we take it all as a matter of course. "God forbid that I should doubt it," said the model beggar woman, who sang it at Pantoppidan's door, at the beginning of the last century.

These ballads, it has been remarked, have a sort of family resemblance to those of England, Scotland, and Germany. Many of the north country ballads were perhaps transmitted through Scotland from the Scandinavian Islands. Among the resembling poems are "Fair Metelille," which may be compared with the "Twa Knights" in "Buchan;" "Sir Sallemand," the last stanzas in which are similar to the concluding verses in "Prince Robert," in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, as also to those of the well-known ditty of "Lord Lovel;" "Rosmer," from the Scottish edition of which is derived the quotation of Edgar, in *King Lear*:—"Childe Roland to the dark tower came, &c.;" "The Victory of Patience," the counter-part of "the Patient Countess" in Percy's *Ballads*, and the Danish version of the touching tale of *Griselidis*, borrowed from "the Lay of the Ash;" and finally, "Sir Ogey and Lady Elsey," which finds a representative in "Sweet William's Ghost." Of these international ballads we select the last, remarkable for pathetic beauty and imaginative truth.

"Now hear me, dear Sir Ogey,
The truth I pray thee tell,
How under ground thou farest
Down in thy cell.'

"'Tis so down in that earth-house,
Where I must tarry now,
'Tis as the joys of heaven,
If happy thou.'

Ancient Danish Ballads.

“ ‘Then hear me, knight Sir Ogey,
And grant the boon I crave,
To go with thee, my dearest,
And share thy grave.’

“ ‘Tis so down in that earth-house,
My narrow, lonely cell ;
’Tis like to hellish torture,
O cross thyself well !

“ ‘So oft as thou art weeping,
And grieveest thee so sore,
Is brimming full my coffin
With blood and gore.

“ ‘Above my head is growing
The grass so sweet ;
But lothely snakes are twining
About my feet.

“ ‘Yet when I hear thee singing,
And thou art glad,
Then is my grave’s small chamber
With roses clad.

“ ‘The white cock now is crowing,
And I must down below ;
To earth wend all my fellows,
And with them I must go.

“ ‘The red cock now is crowing,
And I must down below ;
To earth must wend all dead men,
And I too must go.

“ ‘And now the black cock’s crowing,
Home I must below ;
Unlock’d are all the portals,
And I too must go.’ ”

And now as Lady Elsey, sorrowful of mood, walks beside her bridegroom, mark the preternatural change that comes over Sir Ogey, and compare it with the withering of the Elysian beauty, the throwing of the Stygian hue over the roseate lips of Protesilaus, in Wordsworth’s majestic poem, “*Laodamia*.”

“ But when she reach’d the churchyard,
She saw his golden hair,
How pale it grew and paler,
That once had been so fair.

"And when she had cross'd the churchyard,
Up to the church's door,
Grew pale Sir Ogey's cheek too,
As roses red before.

"At hand and foot Sir Ogey
Was fading away;
Fading his cheerful rosy cheeks
To clods of clay.

"Now hear me, Lady Elsey,
Hear me, my bride so dear,
No longer mourn thy husband,
Nor drop for him a tear;

"But wend thee home, dear Elsey,
In peace to sleep;
No longer mourn thy bridegroom,
No longer weep.

"See yon small stars above thee,
How wanes their light;
And see how fast is fleeting
The hour of night.' "

As the lady turns her towards the heavens and observes the waning stars, her dead lover glides into that dark underworld, and disappears. Sore grieving, this Bride of Hades re-seeks her home, "and ere that month is ended, is on her bier and dead."

The beautiful feeling and delicate fancy of this poem are not easily matched; but we may compare with the poetic reality of its representations, a sublime conception in the fine ballad of "*Mar Stig*," a conception which as W. Grimm observes, has quite a Shakspearian character. In this ballad the phantasm in the wood is the ideal impersonation of an evil conscience; the haunting sense of guilt in a man of luxurious emotion creating Furies with "beautiful regards," and the external loveliness evoked by his voluptuous imagination, suggesting as by a principle of antagonism, the damning ugliness of the crime which prohibits the hope of sympathy and precludes the power of enjoyment.

"The king into the thicket peer'd,
As closed the darkling night,
And soon was ware of a small house,
Where burnt a fire and light.

"He stepp'd within the woodland hut,
And sad at heart was he,
But found a lovely maiden there
As eye could wish to see.

"Her he clasp'd fondly round her waist,
 And straight began to woo :
 'Hear me, fair maid, nor say me nay,
 To-night I sleep with you.'
 "'Answer me first,' the maid replied,
 In laughing merry tone ;
 'Answer me first, King Erick, you,
 What deed you last have done ?'
 "'Sweet lovely maid, if that you know,
 More tidings you can give ;
 So tell me, lovely maid, but this—
 How long I've yet to live ?'
 "With hearty glee laugh'd the fair maid,
 And this her dubious word :
 'That question ask the little hook
 Whereon is hung your sword.'
 "King Erick fain had held the maid,
 But this he tried in vain ;
 She slipp'd away between his hands,
 He saw her not again.
 "So long as with the king she stood,
 Blazed there a cheerful fire ;
 But soon as she had fled away,
 Was nought but tangled briar."

With the workings of remorseful passion as here portrayed with profound psychological truth, we may compare the repentance of a guilt-stricken man under the compulsion of an inevitable doom, in the fine ballad called "Sir John Rimord's Son's Shrift." In addition to its great poetic merit, this powerful and picturesque composition, with its panoramic glimpse into a lawless and superstitious age, forms no inappropriate close to this ballad representation of the extinct social existence of the North, calling up as it does before the mind's eye the rough sea life of old Denmark, and leaving us thoughtful listeners to the plunging waves, with the sharp smell of the brine and the cold blore from the north as fresh and strong as ever, while the deserted boat, emblem of that wild Scandinavian world, which having fulfilled its purpose has died out, lies dry and useless, in its last dreary resting-place.

"The grass is green beneath the ship,
 She is rotting on the shore :
 A captain brave as was Sir John,
 Shall never steer her more.
 "In Ribé sits the Danish king,
 And writes a stern decree,
 To summon out his liege men all,
 And bid them put to sea.

“‘Now,’ said Sir John, as o’er his neck
His linkéd mail he threw,
‘Who sails not out with us to-day
Nor loyal is, nor true.

“‘Aye,’ said Sir John, said Rimord’s son,
And girded on his sword,
‘Who sails not out with us to-day,
Is traitor to his lord.

“‘To-night we’ll drink a full carouse,
Can we but get the ale ;
To-morrow, if the breeze is fair,
We’ll put to sea and sail.’

* * * *

“Scarce out from land they saw the waves
With fury rage and roar ;
The old skipper Hogen through the mist
Could see the lea no more.

“In fearful sport on the wild sea
They saw the billows rise,
And mute and sad the old skipper sat,
The tear-drops in his eyes.

“‘Fore wind and wave drove on the ship,
Amid the tempest din,
And still and gloomy sat Sir John,
His hand beneath his chin.

“While every squall across the deck
The salty billows drove,
Still, as though ladies cut his hair,
Was he not seen to move.

“‘But where are now the troopers bold,
Yest’reen such speeches made ?
Let them now take the helm in hand,
The anchor’s fairly weigh’d.

“‘Aye, where are all the braggarts now,
Who lately made such boast ?
Let them go stand beside the helm,
The sail is fairly loos’d.’

“‘Twas so that ancient skipper spake,
His face with terror pale ;
‘There’s here some murderous wretch on board,
Hinders the ship to sail.

“‘Up men, we’ll cast the lots about,
On whom it falls we’ll see ;
And if there sails a villain here,
Go overboard shall he.”

They cast lots; the lot falls on Sir John. No holy priest is near, but in his peril he makes his shrift to the "great good Christ," "before the mast out on the roaring sea," not, however, without a pious fiction, pardonable, we will hope, for his filial love's sake.

" 'But if, when you shall be on land,
My mother ask for me;
Tell her I serve the king at court,
And live in health and glee.'

" Three money-pouches took Sir John,
And firmly about him bound :
'A boon for him who lays my corpse
Beneath some holy ground.'

" Loud rose their cry, as crosswise spread
He sank to rise no more,
And took a wild untravell'd path
Down to the Ocean's floor.

" Of all the seven and seventy men,
That forth from court had gone,
There came no more than five to land,
Sir John's small page was one.

" Now let us to the churchyard go,
For Rimord's son to pray;
For never again will Danish king
His equal have in pay.

" There's lying dry at Borringholm,
The riven and useless boat;
And tossing on the ruthless stream,
Their wretched corpses float."

With this striking quotation we close the volumes, rejoicing to have met with such fine specimens of ancient Danish literature in so pleasant an English dress; and to have realized more vividly our intimate relationship with a brave northern people. For with the Danes, perhaps even more closely than with the Germans, is the great English nation allied. Our devotion to freedom, our genius for empire and colonization, our spirit of maritime adventure and exploration, seem to refer us, for their immediate source, to the old Scandinavian heroes, the discoverers of Iceland, the settlers in Greenland, the predecessors of Columbus in America, the loyal life-guardsmen of Constantinople, the co-inheritors of English soil, the besiegers of Paris, and impropiators of Normandy under Rolf, the 'Sea-horse,' renowned forefather of that terrible 'Splendour of God,' the second Duke William, who, in due time, conquered from the ill-starred Saxons our beautiful England, the mythical 'paradise' of his ancestors; and who, by

that final act of conquest rendered it henceforth for ever unconquerable!

Associating with these memories of rude energy and wild adventure, the gentler triumphs of our own happier day, we offer our farewell homage to the brave people of the North, the children of Odin who worshipped valour in the morning of time, the land of ancient ballad and prophecy, of modern art and science, the birthplace of Sæmund and Oehenschläger, Andersen and Bremer, Thorwaldsen, and Daneker, Tycho Brahe, Berzelius, and Oersted.



ART. II.—ALCOHOL : WHAT BECOMES OF IT IN THE LIVING BODY ?*

Du Rôle de l'Alcool et des Anesthésiques dans l'Organisme, Recherches Expérimentales. Par Ludger Lallemand et Maurice Perrin, Médecins-Majors, Professeurs Agrégés à l'Ecole Impériale de Médecine et de Pharmacie Militaires; et J. L. P. Duroy, Membre de la Société de Pharmacie de Paris. Avec 10 figures intercalées dans le texte. Paris, 1860.

NOTWITHSTANDING that so much has been said and written upon the *modus operandi* of alcohol and alcoholic drinks on the living organism, the experimental inquiries which have been undertaken with the view of determining what becomes of this agent, when it has been received into the stomach or injected into the blood-current, have been few and by no means satisfactory. By far the most complete were those of Dr. Percy, executed more than twenty years ago, of which an account was given in his Prize Thesis;† but so little have Dr. Percy's researches become known beyond a very limited circle, that we have

* Our readers who recollect the views expressed in an article entitled "The Physiological Errors of Teetotalism," which we published in July, 1855, will observe that they differ widely from those put forward in the present article. Since the date of our former article, scientific research has brought to light important facts which necessarily modify the opinions we then expressed concerning the rôle of alcohol in the animal body. Faithful to the revelations of science, rather than mindful of consistency, we hasten to lay before our readers the last results of a long and laborious series of experiments bearing on the subject in question.—*Editor*.

† "An Experimental Inquiry concerning the presence of Alcohol in the Ventricles of the Brain, after poisoning by that liquid; together with Experiments illustrative of the Physiological Action of Alcohol. London and Edinburgh. 1839."

never seen them referred to, save at second-hand, by any Continental writers; and his clear and definite results seem to have been almost entirely ignored by subsequent experimenters, none of whom, previously to the inquiry of which the details are recorded in the volume before us, had even approached the success which he obtained.

Dr. Percy's investigations, which were made partly upon the human subject, but chiefly upon dogs, were directed, in the first instance, to test the statement of Dr. Ogston, of Aberdeen, that in cases of death from alcoholic poisoning, the fluid effused into the ventricles of the brain occasionally contains alcohol. He very properly refused to rely upon the mere odour or inflammability of the effused fluid as an evidence of its alcoholic character; and rested his conclusion as to the presence of alcohol on his ability to procure by distillation a sufficient quantity of liquid which should give, when treated with sub-carbonate of potass, a stratum whose alcoholic character was indicated, not only by its inflammability, but by its power of dissolving camphor. Having introduced alcohol into the stomachs of several dogs, sometimes in quantity sufficient to produce immediate death, in other cases in such dilution as only to produce the ordinary phenomena of alcoholic intoxication, he found no difficulty in extracting alcohol, not merely from their blood, but also from the substance of the brain, although he was unable to detect it in the fluid effused into its ventricles; and he distinctly states that the proportion obtainable from the brain is larger than that yielded by an equivalent amount of blood, so that (as he remarks) "it would almost seem that a kind of affinity existed between alcohol and the cerebral matters." He further obtained alcohol from the substance of the liver and from bile, from which (he says) "it may be separated with great facility;" and he also detected it unmistakably in the urine, both of the dog and of man, although two of the highest contemporary authorities, Berzelius and Müller, had most explicitly denied the fact of its passage into that excretion. Dr. Percy further showed that when alcohol is introduced into the current of the circulation, it occasions death, *not*, as stated by Orfila, by coagulating the blood, but in virtue of its specific effect upon the nervous centres. And his experiments afford strong ground for the conclusion, that except in those cases in which the introduction of a sufficient quantity of concentrated alcohol into the stomach acts through its nerves, like a blow upon the epigastrium, so as to produce a *shock* to the nervous centres, the effect is due to the absorption of the alcohol, and to its conveyance in substance to the organ on which its peculiar influence is exerted. Familiar as we have since become with this idea, it is one which was at that time very commonly regarded as hypothetical; and

we regard Dr. Percy's demonstration as having contributed not a little to the general acceptance it has since met with.

If these results had been more extensively known, and had been more fully appreciated, we doubt if the Liebigian doctrine of the *alimentary* value of alcohol would have been so generally admitted as it has been both by the supporters and by the opponents of the habitual use of alcoholic beverages. On the one hand it has been urged that alcohol, though not entitled to be regarded as a tissue-forming material, is nevertheless a very efficient calorifying agent; whilst on the other it has been maintained that whatever may be its value as a calorifying agent, it should be excluded from ordinary use in favour of other substances which do not (like it) exert a decidedly prejudicial influence on the system when taken in even small excess. Yet no proof of any kind was adduced by Liebig that alcohol is eliminated from the blood, when it has been received into the current of the circulation, by a combusive process; the fact of such elimination having been taken for granted as a deduction from the eminently combusive nature of this substance, which would render it (as it was supposed) pre-eminently disposed to change itself into water and carbonic acid, when brought into relation with alcohol in the capillaries of the lungs. It might have been urged on the other side, that the fact of alcohol being eliminated without change by the biliary and urinary excretions, to say nothing of its less certain but still probable passage in substance into the pulmonary and cutaneous exhalation (as indicated by the alcoholic odour continually observable in the breath and sometimes in the perspiration of those who have imbibed any considerable amount of alcoholic fluids), furnishes a strong argument against the assumption that it undergoes a combusive process like articles of food and their derivatives; since we know of no proper alimentary substance which is cast out unchanged from the system by the excretory processes, except when (as in diabetes and albuminuria) there is some derangement in the organic functions. We are not aware, however, that this argument was ever explicitly advanced; and the general opinion seems to have been, that alcohol would only thus find its way into the tissues and excretions, when received into the circulating current more rapidly than it could be eliminated through the lungs by the combusive process.

Modern science, however, takes nothing for granted, but requires the precise determination, step by step, of every point as to which a question can possibly be raised; and its more exact method of reasoning has caused it to become apparent, that so long as no proof can be afforded that alcohol is got rid of by a combusive process, so long the probability is decidedly the other way. It is obvious that no certain indications can be drawn from

the study of the respiratory products; since, of the water which is exhaled in the breath we have no direct means of determining how much has been formed by the combustive process, and how much is mere transudation; and of the carbonic acid it is impossible to say whether it is the product of the combustion of alcohol, or of that of the hydrocarbons (sugar and fat) ordinarily present in the blood. Several experimenters have noticed a diminution in the amount of carbonic acid exhaled after the ingestion of alcoholic beverages; and this has been generally accounted for on the supposition, that as hydrogen bears to carbon a much larger proportion in alcohol than it does in the ordinary hydrocarbons of the blood, a larger proportion of the inspired oxygen will be converted by the combustive process into water, and a smaller proportion into carbonic acid,—an explanation which might be accepted if it were proved that alcohol actually undergoes the combustive process, but which obviously can afford no support to the assumption which is really its basis. And the more recent researches of Dr. Edward Smith have shown that the several kinds of alcoholic liquids exert very different effects upon the exhalation of carbonic acid; its quantity being increased in various degrees by the ingestion of alcohol, rum, sherry wine, and good malt liquors; whilst it is diminished by brandy and gin; different samples of whisky affording diverse results.

Another method of research, however, has been devised for the determination of this question; that, namely, of endeavouring to ascertain if any of those *derivatives* of alcohol can be detected in the blood, the presence of which would indicate that it undergoes gradational oxidation. The first of the derivatives formed by the agency of oxidizing substances on alcohol, is known as *aldehyde*; this is alcohol *minus* two equivalents of hydrogen, which have united with oxygen to form water. The second of these derivatives, which results from a further process of oxidation, is *acetic acid*; in which substance the two equivalents of hydrogen thus removed to form water, are replaced by two additional equivalents of oxygen. Now, MM. Bouchardat and Sandras,* whilst maintaining that alcohol is ordinarily “burned off” by respiration, so as at once to form water and carbonic acid, thought that they had occasionally discovered the presence, in the vapour expired from the lungs, of small quantities of alcohol, and of acetic acid as a derivative from it. They attributed the death of animals poisoned by alcohol to its greed of oxygen, which (according to them) so completely abstracts it from the other constituents of the blood, that the effect is the same as if the animals were asphyxiated by

* De la Digestion des Boissons Alcooliques, et de leur rôle dans la Nutrition,” in *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*. 1847. Tom. XXI.

being plunged in an atmosphere containing no oxygen. More recently M. Duchek* has essayed to prove that alcohol introduced into the circulation is first changed into aldehyde, then into acetic acid, and then gives rise to the formation of oxalic acid, before being finally disposed of in the form of carbonic acid and water. If this were unmistakeably proved, it would doubtless afford a very strong argument in favour of the combustive theory; but M. Duchek seems to have been so strongly possessed with the Liebigian doctrine that alcohol is food, as to have limited himself to one side of the inquiry, and to have accepted as conclusive evidence in his favour, indications whose validity needed to be carefully examined by a greater variety of tests. His conclusions were soon called in question by Buckheim, a higher authority on a matter of this kind;† who pointed out that Duchek really adduced no sufficient proof of the presence of aldehyde in the blood of animals poisoned by alcohol, and that the probability is very strong against the assumption. He determined with certainty the presence of alcohol in the condensed respiratory products and in the urine, both in the case of dogs and in that of two men; on the other hand, he failed to detect either the acetic or the oxalic acid, whose presence either in the blood or in the excretions would indicate a further metamorphosis of alcohol within the system.

Such was the condition of the question when it was taken up by the authors of the remarkable work before us; who state that they have been led to the inquiry into the effects of alcohol on the living body, by the study (in which they have been for several years engaged) of the *modus operandi* of anæsthetic agents. Having invented a method of detecting the presence of chloroform in the blood and in the tissues of the body, they had succeeded in proving that when this agent is inhaled it is received in substance into the blood, and is conveyed to the brain, from which it may be extracted after death; whilst, on the other hand, if the inhalation of the vapour be suspended, the chloroform is rapidly eliminated from the system, not by a combustive process, but by passing in substance into the pulmonary exhalation. Encouraged by these results, they desired to extend the same method of inquiry not merely to other anæsthetic agents, but also to various substances which had more or less of affinity to them; and they naturally turned their attention in the first instance to alcohol, the relation of which to the ordinary anæsthetics is the closest both in its chemical composition and in its physiological action.

In their earlier researches they employed, like Dr. Percy, the

* "Über das Verhalten des Alkohols in thierischen Organismus," in Vierteljahrs-Schrift für die praktische Heilkunde. Prag. 1833.

† Lehrbuch der Arzneimittellehre, p. 103.

method of distillation and condensation as a means of detecting the presence of alcohol ; and apparently in ignorance of what he had long before demonstrated, they proved, as he had done, that alcohol received into the stomach is absorbed into the blood, and is withdrawn from it into the substance of the nervous centres. They then applied the same method to the search for alcohol in the exhalation from the lungs ; causing two men, of whom each had taken brandy, to expire through an apparatus fitted to condense the vapour of the breath ; and then distilling the liquor so obtained. The results were entirely negative, not a trace of alcohol being detected in the product of distillation. It fortunately happened, however, that they had placed at the extremity of the apparatus a tube containing a solution of bichromate of potass in sulphuric acid,—a red liquor which is turned to an emerald green by the presence of certain organic compounds, the chromic acid being decomposed and reduced to the condition of green oxide of chromium ;—and they observed that the expired air, after the separation of its watery vapour, rapidly effected this conversion as it passed through the tube. Profiting by this suggestion, they applied themselves to the determination of the value of their new test ; and having ascertained in the first place, that persons who had taken no alcohol for some hours previously might expire for any length of time through the solution without producing the least discoloration of it, they were justified in concluding that such discoloration indicated the presence either of alcohol or of some of its derivatives in the expired air. A careful series of experiments was next made for the purpose of ascertaining whether aldehyde is present in the blood of animals that have received alcohol into their stomachs ; and although no difficulty was experienced in detecting aldehyde in the blood when it had itself been administered, not the least trace of it could be found after the administration of alcohol. Evidence was obtained, that when alcohol remains sufficiently long in the stomach, a trifling amount of it is converted into acetic acid under the influence of the ferment contained in the gastric juice ; and traces of acetic acid were occasionally found in the blood ; but as such traces may be detected also when no alcohol has been taken, provided that the food contains starch or saccharine components, there is an entire absence of evidence that alcohol goes through a conversion into acetic acid in the course of its circulation with the blood-current. Further, when the blood or the cerebral substance of animals poisoned by alcohol, was subjected to the chromic test, the indications which it afforded were in precise accordance with the proof obtained, by the distillation of actual alcohol, of its presence in those parts of their bodies. The value of this test, as employed under proper precautions, having thus been

conclusively established, and its delicacy having been shown to be far greater than that of the separation of alcohol by distillation, our authors availed themselves of this new process to carry out a fresh inquiry into the mode in which alcohol is disposed of when introduced into the stomach of a living animal.

Modern chemistry makes great use, in quantitative analysis, of what is termed the "method of volumes." Formerly, when a reagent was employed to throw down from its solution some substance whose amount had been determined, it was the precipitate that was carefully collected and weighed, no account being taken of the quantity of the reagent that was required for its production. But it is now found to be far more easy, and (with due precaution) not less accurate, to employ a test-liquid of a certain known strength, and to estimate the amount of the substance which it is employed to detect, by the quantity of it that may be required for the complete precipitation of that substance. This method, with a difference arising out of the nature of the case, was found applicable in the use of the chromic test for alcohol. A solution of bichromate of potass in sulphuric acid was prepared of a certain known strength, and a definite measure of it was put into a glass tube of fixed diameter. When air containing alcoholic vapour was passed through this, conversion of its red hue to emerald-green afforded a definite standard of comparison; and one tube being substituted after another, as the conversion became complete in each, until no further change could be perceived, the proportional amount of alcohol-vapour given off in different experiments was readily determinable by the total quantity of the solution thus changed; whilst the time required for the conversion, the quantity of air passed through the tube being the same, gave the measure of the proportion of alcohol vapour existing in the air—a measure which was exceedingly ready and useful in the application of this process to the detection of alcohol in the products of respiration. Thus, in one of the experiments, a man having taken at breakfast a *litre* of red wine containing 10 per cent. of alcohol, and his meal having terminated at 10½ A.M., his breath was found at noon and at 1 P.M. to convert a centimètre of the test-liquid in *two* minutes; at 2 P.M., in *four* minutes; at 4 P.M., in *ten* minutes; and at 5 P.M., in *fifteen* minutes; whilst at 6 P.M., after fifteen minutes the colour was but partially changed, and at 7 P.M. no conversion whatever took place; the gradual diminution, and the period of the entire cessation, of the elimination of alcohol by pulmonary exhalation being thus very definitely indicated. So, again, the urine of the same subject being submitted to the chromic-test at similar intervals, it was found that whilst 60 grammes of that excretion passed at mid-day gave of alcoholic vapour enough to change the colour of *sixteen* cubic centimètres

of the test-liquor; the same quantity passed at 2 P.M. produced the like effect on *fifteen* cubic centimètres; at 4 P.M., on *twelve*; at 6 P.M., on *ten*; at 8 P.M., on *four*; at 10 P.M., on *one*; whilst that passed at midnight gave but a very faint trace of the characteristic reaction.

It is not only, however, by the lungs and by the kidneys that the progressive elimination of alcohol is thus shown to be effected; for the application of the same method of research has enabled our authors to detect the presence of alcohol in the vapour exhaled from the skin of a dog in a state of alcoholic intoxication. And they have further been able to trace the passage of alcohol circulating in the blood-current into all the tissues of the body,—the liver and the brain, however, being the parts in which it most tends to accumulate. It is not a little curious that the proportions obtainable from these two organs should differ notably, according as the alcohol has been taken into the stomach and absorbed through the portal system (which will bring it into direct relation with the substance of the liver) into the general circulation, or as it has been at once introduced into the general circulation by direct injection. In the former case, the proportion of alcohol obtainable from a given weight of blood being represented by 1·00, the proportions yielded by the same weights of brain and liver were 1·34 and 1·48 respectively. But in the latter, the proportion obtainable from a given weight of blood being still represented by 1·00, the proportions yielded by the same weights of brain and liver were 3·00 and 1·75 respectively. In either case, the proportion obtainable from muscular flesh was much less than that yielded by the blood.

Experiments of this kind, repeated and varied in divers modes, seem to leave no doubt whatever, that not only is alcohol separated from the blood by the tissues of the body, especially the substance of the brain and of the liver, but that the excretory organs are continually engaged in its elimination, even when the quantity introduced into the system has been but small; and that the larger the quantity of alcohol introduced into the system, the longer is the period required for its entire removal from the circulating current. From these experiments our authors think themselves justified in drawing the conclusion, that alcohol undergoes no combusive action in the living body, but that the whole of what is ingested is excreted unchanged; so that this substance has no claim whatever to rank among articles of food, but must be placed in the category of those medicinal or toxic agents, whose presence in the living body exerts an important influence on its functions, though they do not themselves enter into combination with any of its components. They readily admit that they have not succeeded in reproducing in any instance from the excre-

tory products the whole amount of the alcohol introduced into the system ; but they very justly urge that such a demonstration cannot fairly be exacted, all circumstances considered ; and that all the evidence which the nature of the case admits, points in one direction. For there is on the one hand, an entire absence of positive evidence that alcohol is eliminated from the system by a combusive process ; whilst the assumption that it is so eliminated is opposed to the fact that none of the derivatives of alcohol are detectable in the blood, although the presence of either of them would be recognised without difficulty if it were really there ; and is rendered still more improbable by the length of time during which alcohol can be shown to remain in the body, even when ingested in small quantities. On the other hand we have the positive evidence afforded by the detection of alcohol in the pulmonary and cutaneous exhalations and in the urinary excretion, in quantities at first considerable, but gradually diminishing with the increase of the interval, until (as parallel analyses of the blood and of the tissues indicate) there is reason to believe that this substance has been entirely removed from the system. Our authors justly lay stress on the fact that it is not the mere excess of alcohol, which the system cannot profitably use up, that finds its way into the excretions ; for they detected alcohol in the urine of a man within half an hour after he had taken no more than 30 grammes (463 grains) of brandy ; and in the case already cited, the ingestion of only a litre (or ordinary bottle) of weak wine gave rise to a continued elimination of alcohol by the lungs during eight hours, and by the kidneys during fourteen hours. A very striking proof of the length of time during which alcohol remains unmodified in the system, after being ingested in any considerable amount, is afforded by the fact that it was found in abundance in the brain, liver, and blood of a vigorous man, who died of the remote results of alcoholic poisoning *thirty-two hours* after drinking a litre of brandy, notwithstanding the early use of emetics and other remedial means.

If, then, we refrain from adopting our authors' conclusion as a demonstrated fact, we feel justified in admitting its claim (until any opposing data shall have been furnished by fresh inquiries) to as firm a basis of probability as that on which has been erected the greater part of the existing fabric of physiological doctrine. Doubtless the advocates of the "food" hypothesis will be both able and ready to show the insufficiency of the proofs on the strength of which that hypothesis is now pronounced to be fallacious : the candid inquirer, however, will not test the validity of the new doctrine by its accordance with one to which he has been long accustomed to give an unquestioning assent, but will rather turn his thoughts to the claims which the latter has upon his

acceptance, and will examine if these are really such as to demand his negation of the strong probabilities that can be urged on the other side. A very good rule in all such cases is to make the old and the new doctrine change places, admitting, the new one, *pro tempore*, to the place which the old one has long held, and then considering whether, if the old one were now advanced for the first time, it would be able to establish any claim to reception. To us it appears perfectly clear that if the minds of physiologists had been in the first instance thoroughly imbued with the important facts adduced by the authors of the work before us, as to the progressive elimination of alcohol in substance from the living body by each of the three principal emunctories provided for the purification of the blood, they would have at once rejected as a baseless assumption the notion that alcohol undergoes a process of combustion in the body and is entitled to take rank as an alimentary material. If this be really so, this is surely the attitude which, on a fair balance of the evidence now before them, they are bound to assume in regard to this important question.

It is not requisite for us to follow our authors through their detailed inquiry into the pathology of alcoholic poisoning, since they do not add anything of importance to what was previously known on the subject, and their general result is in accordance with what has been commonly taught by physiologists and toxicologists in this country—namely, that alcohol in large doses exerts a specific influence, analogous to that of other narcotic poisons, upon the nervous centres; and that death results from the suspension of the respiratory movements, the heart continuing to beat for some time after these have ceased. The most important new fact which they have substantiated, is that of the presence of globules of fat distinguishable by the naked eye as brilliant points, floating on the surface of the blood drawn from animals in a state of alcoholic intoxication. That such a change should be produced by the ingestion of a single dose of alcohol is not a little remarkable, and fully confirms the statements of those pathologists who assert that the habitual excessive use of alcoholic drinks produces such a notable increase in the fatty matter of the blood, as altogether to pervert the constitution of the nutritive fluid. We may here mention that the same effect is produced on the blood by the anæsthetic agents, chloroform, sulphuric ether, and amylene; and it disappears, as do the other phenomena of intoxication, when (as is shown by chemical tests) the blood has been freed by the excretory processes from the presence of the toxic agent.

The second part of this valuable treatise is devoted to a similar inquiry into the *modus operandi* of anæsthetic agents; chloroform, sulphuric ether, and amylene being specially investigated. As in the

case of alcohol, the first object was to devise an exact method of recognising the presence and estimating the amount of these substances in the vapours raised from the blood, the tissues, or the excretions of animals which had been subjected to their influence.

In the case of chloroform (which is a compound of chlorine, hydrogen and carbon) advantage was taken of the change which its vapour undergoes when passed through a red-hot porcelain tube in contact with common air; the products of its decomposition being hydrochloric acid (the quantity of which is readily estimated by causing its vapour to pass through a solution of nitrate of silver, the amount of the precipitate of chloride of silver thus produced affording the measure of the amount of chloroform which had been subjected to the process), chloride of carbon which is deposited in crystals, and carbonic acid and chlorine which are set free. It was ascertained that no effect was produced upon the testing apparatus, when vaporized air was transmitted through it from the blood and tissues of animals to which chloroform had not been given, whilst the addition of a minute quantity of chloroform to these substances immediately gave the anticipated results; and when the blood and tissues of animals killed by the inhalation of chloroform were subjected to the same process, very decided evidence was obtained that it had been received into the circulation, and diffused through the body. Its special affinity for the substance of the brain was found to be even more remarkable than that of alcohol; the proportional amounts yielded by equivalent quantities of blood and of cerebral tissue being 1.00 and 3.92 parts respectively, whilst the liver yielded 2.08 parts, and the muscular substance generally 0.16 parts. The brain and liver, moreover, seemed to hold it more tenaciously than the blood; as it could be detected in those organs after it had disappeared from the blood. In the case of animals rendered temporarily insensible by the inhalation of chloroform, it was ascertained by the comparative examination of blood drawn during the state of insensibility, and of blood drawn when consciousness and motor power had returned, that the recovery from that state is coincident with the complete removal of chloroform from the blood. This removal is chiefly effected by the exhalation of its vapour from the lungs; the presence of chloroform being distinctly discoverable by the means already indicated in the breath of animals that are under its influence, but ceasing to be thus traceable at a much earlier period than the vapour of alcohol, as might be anticipated from the much more speedy supervention of recovery after the inhalation of chloroform than after alcoholic intoxication. Traces of chloroform are to be found also in the products of the cutaneous exhalation; but this substance has not been detected in the urine.

The mode of detecting sulphuric ether, is the same as that employed for the detection of alcohol; and as the result is not different in the two cases, this test does not serve to distinguish one of these substances from the other. But as there is no reason whatever to suppose that alcohol can be changed into ether, or ether into alcohol, in the living body, the reduction of the green oxide of chromium may be safely attributed to the presence of alcoholic vapour when alcohol has been administered, and to that of ether-vapour when ether has been administered. Tested in this manner, the blood and the tissues of the body generally were found to be impregnated with ether, in animals killed by its inhalation, the proportions yielded by the substance of the brain and of the liver being respectively 3·25 and 2·25 to 1·00 proportional yielded by an equivalent quantity of blood, whilst the tissue of the muscles yielded only 0·25. The elimination of ether from the system is effected, like that of chloroform, chiefly by the lungs, and in a slight degree by the skin; but it is also shared by the kidneys, ether having been detected in small quantity in the urine.

Amylene is another substance allied to the preceding in chemical composition (though consisting of carbon and hydrogen only) and having very similar physiological effects; but as it is with difficulty obtained pure (although the fusel oil from which it is procured is abundant in the refuse of distilleries), and is much less manageable than either ether or chloroform, it cannot be used with advantage as an anæsthetic agent. Our authors, however, included it in their inquiry; and they were able to substantiate by chemical tests the same general facts in regard to its passage into the blood and its diffusion through the body, as they had previously demonstrated in regard to ether and chloroform. The proportion yielded by the blood and by the substance of the liver was here the same; but the substance of the brain gave twice as much, whilst only a trace could be detected in the muscles. The recovery from the state of insensibility, when the inhalation of amylene has not been carried too far, takes place with peculiar rapidity; and this seems due to its very rapid elimination by the lungs, the breath being strongly impregnated with its peculiar garlicky odour.

Thus we see that there is a perfect accordance between alcohol and the anæsthetic agents in what chemists would term their "behaviour" in the living system. When alcohol is taken into the stomach, it is absorbed into the general current of the circulation and is carried by it to every tissue and organ in the body. In the tissues generally only feeble traces of its presence can be detected; but it fastens on the substance of the brain and of the liver by a peculiar "elective affinity," so as to be yielded by these in far

larger proportion than by an equivalent amount of blood. Precisely the same is the case with chloroform, ether, and amylene, when they are introduced into the current of the circulation by inhalation through the lungs; the elective affinity of the first two of these for the brain and liver being somewhat stronger than that of alcohol, whilst that of the third is weaker. From the time when alcohol and the anæsthetics have been introduced into the circulation, the system commences to free itself from them, by setting in action the three great eliminating apparatuses, the lungs, the skin, and the kidneys. The most volatile of these substances are got rid of most rapidly (as might have been anticipated) by exhalation from the lungs, the skin also slightly assisting; and coincidently with their removal from the blood, their physiological effects pass off likewise. Partly, it would seem, from their insolubility in water, but chiefly perhaps owing to the short duration of their sojourn in the body, these highly volatile substances do not find their way in any quantity into the urine. A much greater length of time is required, however, for the removal of alcohol from the body, partly through its inferior volatility, but chiefly (as it seems to us) because the ingestion of a much larger quantity is required to produce any decided perversion of the nervous functions; and the duration of that perversion is accordingly prolonged. Further, alcohol being readily miscible with water, and its sojourn in the body without change being protracted for many hours, it passes into the urinary excretion, which becomes, in fact, one of the principal channels of its elimination, an important part however being still performed by the lungs, and the skin being by no means inactive.

The striking accordance which has thus been shown to exist in every fundamental particular between alcohol and the anæsthetics, —the differences in their behaviour being only of a secondary character, and being obviously referrible to their chemical and physical properties,—must surely be regarded as most strikingly confirmatory of the position taken up by the authors of this treatise in antagonism to the Liebigian doctrine that alcohol is food. For there is not a single point of difference in their actions, which can justify their being placed in different categories. Their physiological effects in large doses are essentially the same. Their special affinity for the substance of the brain and of the liver is a most striking point of conformity. Whether alcohol be taken into the stomach, or the vapour of chloroform or ether be inhaled through the lungs, no sooner has it been received into the circulating current, than it is treated as a substance altogether foreign to the body, which is to be removed by the excretory organs as rapidly as possible. Those organs continue to eliminate it, until the blood has been entirely freed from it; and then,

but not till then, its perverting influence upon the nervous functions ceases to be manifested. There is no more evidence of alcohol being in any way utilized in the body, than there is in regard to ether or chloroform. If alcohol is to be still designated as *food*, we must extend the meaning of that term so as to make it comprehend not only ether and chloroform, but all medicines and poisons,—in fact everything which can be swallowed and absorbed, however foreign it may be to the normal constitution of the body, and however injurious to its functions. On the other hand, from no definition that can be framed of a *poison*, which should include those more powerful anæsthetic agents whose poisonous character has been unfortunately too clearly manifested in a great number of instances, can alcohol be fairly shut out.

If this view be adopted, and the “food” hypothesis be put aside, the question naturally arises as to the nature of the influence exerted by alcohol on the living system when taken habitually as an article of diet, and especially as to the power which it seems to possess of *replacing* food when the supply of the latter is deficient,—a power which has been freely conceded to it by some of those who have argued most strongly for “total abstinence” as the teaching of an enlightened physiology in regard to such as are placed (or can place themselves) in the conditions most favourable to health. Here, again, the more exact methods of modern scientific research have given us a clue, which, without leading us to the complete elucidation of the mystery, seems to afford definite guidance towards its discovery. When food is deficient, the body loses substance and power, day by day, from the progressive “wasting” of the tissues; and if means can be found to retard that process, a quantity of food otherwise insufficient may serve to sustain the powers of the system. Now there is evidence that such is the mode in which small and repeated doses of alcohol exert an influence, which for the time at any rate is beneficial, under such privations. The subject has of late attracted much attention in Germany, where various series of researches have been prosecuted with the view of ascertaining the comparative influence of alcohol, tea, coffee, and tobacco, when the body is normally supplied with food, and when food is partially withheld; of which researches a useful summary is given by Dr. T. King Chambers, in the British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review for October, 1854, and in the chapter on “Arresters of Metamorphosis,” in his work on Digestion and its Derangements. More recently an inquiry of the same kind has been carried out by a young American physician, Dr. Hammond;* and as, from our

* American Journal of the Medical Sciences, October, 1856.

personal knowledge of him, we are inclined to feel great confidence in his results, we are glad to take this opportunity of making them more generally known.

Dr. Hammond's inquiries were directed to the three following objects:—

1. To observe the effects of alcohol upon a system in which the weight of the body was maintained at a *nearly uniform standard* by a sufficiency of food.
2. To ascertain its influence upon an organism in which a *loss of weight* was taking place from deficiency of food.
3. To determine its action upon an organism which was *gaining weight* by excess of nutriment.

Now to determine the first point, Dr. Hammond, having ascertained that his system was in the required condition of balance, and having determined on the one hand the weight of food required to maintain it, on the other that of the various products of excretion, continued precisely the same diet and mode of life for five days, with the addition of four drachms of alcohol diluted with an equal quantity of water at each meal. At the end of this time Dr. Hammond found that he had increased in weight something less than half-a-pound, owing to a diminution in the amount of the excretory products; this diminution being especially marked in the carbonic acid expired from the lungs, and in the solid matters of the urine. The general health was somewhat disturbed, there being headache and increased heat of skin; the mental faculties were not so clear as when no alcohol was taken; and there was an indisposition to any kind of exertion, with less constancy of the appetite.

The administration of alcohol was then repeated with such a diminution in the amount of food as had previously been ascertained to cause a diminution of weight at the rate of more than a quarter of a pound per day; and the very remarkable result was obtained, that during the five days through which this experiment was continued, there was not merely a cessation of that diminution, but a positive slight increase of weight, which was chiefly owing, as before, to the diminution of the carbonic acid exhaled from the lungs, and of the solid matters excreted in the urine. And it is worthy of note that the amount thus added to the weight of the body by the doses of alcohol taken, considerably exceeded the aggregate amount of those doses; the gain being altogether above a pound and a half, whilst the whole weight of the alcohol taken was not a third of that amount. It must obviously, therefore, have done something more than simply replace food. The general condition of his system is stated by Dr. Hammond to have been never better than during this experiment.

He then tried the effects of the same doses of alcohol when the system was gaining weight from excess of food; and he found, as before, that the products of excretion were diminished, so that a further increase in weight took place. During the five days through which this experiment was continued, the general health was much disordered; there being constant headache, disturbed sleep, and hot skin, with quick, full, and bounding pulse.

As the general result of his experiments, Dr. Hammond concludes that when the food is *sufficient* for the requirements of the system, alcohol is injurious, by exciting the circulation, and tending to induce a plethoric habit of body,—its influence in this respect being the same as that of an excessive amount of food; and still more injurious effects are of course produced when the food is *in excess*. When the supply of food, however, is *insufficient* to maintain the vigour of the system, the beneficial effect of alcohol in limiting the waste of the body is considered by Dr. Hammond to stand in marked contrast to its pernicious influence in the preceding cases.

“The use of alcohol, even in moderation,” (he remarks) “cannot therefore be either exclusively approved or exclusively condemned. The labouring man, who can hardly procure bread and meat enough to preserve the balance between the formation and decay of his tissues, finds here an agent which, within the limits of health, enables him to dispense with a certain amount of food, and yet keeps up the strength and weight of his body. On the other hand, he who uses alcohol when his food is more than sufficient to supply the waste of tissue, and at the same time does not increase the amount of his physical exercise, or drink an additional quantity of water (by which the decay of tissue would be accelerated), retards the metamorphosis, while an increased amount of nutriment is being assimilated, and thus adds to the plethoric condition of the system, which excessive food so generally induces.”

With regard, however, to inferences founded on the results of the foregoing and similar experiments continued for a short time only, we think it necessary to interpose a caution, based on the recent inquiries of Dr. Edward Smith as to the influence of various dietetic and other conditions on the excretion of urea. For (as we have learned from himself) although a marked alteration is generally produced by almost any change in diet, *for a few days*, this alteration progressively disappears, and the previous average is soon restored. Still we are disposed to believe, with the authors of the work which has given occasion to our renewed discussion of this subject, that the retardation of the metamorphosis of tissue indicated by the experiments just cited, is the true *rationale* of the results of a large experience, in regard, on the

one hand, to the power which even small doses of alcohol seem to have of replacing food when this is deficient (as in the well-known case of Captain Bligh and his companions), and on the other, to the special influence which they seem to exert in restraining the waste of the nervous system, under the wear and tear of continued anxiety or prolonged intellectual tension. But it is quite another question whether alcohol can be habitually employed with advantage for either of these purposes, without in the end doing more harm than good. If it be true, as modern dynamical science decidedly indicates, that the amount of force capable of being put forth by the system is proportionate to the amount of tissue that undergoes metamorphosis, we should expect that although the immediate effect of alcoholic stimulation may be to excite the nervo-muscular system to extraordinary effort, yet that a continuance of such effort would be far less efficiently sustained with inadequate aliment *plus* alcohol, than it is with adequate food combined with abstinence from alcoholic drinks; and this seems to accord with the verdict of a large experience as to the matter of fact. In particular, it is well known to those who have made inquiries amongst men engaged in very laborious employments at high temperatures, that whatever the men may drink in the intervals of their work, they cannot take alcoholic drinks whilst actually engaged in it, without such a decided loss of power as quite unfits them for its performance. As Dr. T. King Chambers well remarks, "metamorphosis of tissue is *life* or an inseparable part of life;" and while it may be decidedly advantageous to prevent the body from living too fast, and thus being worn out by its own energy, it is absurd to suppose that if by the use of any of the "arresters of metamorphosis" we could materially retard that process, we could get as much good work out of the system, as if, with an adequate supply of nutriment, there were free play given to the excretory operations by which the effete products of the metamorphosis are carried off. If we cut off the ingress of air to a stove, we diminish the combustion of its fuel,—but at the same time, and in the same proportion, we lessen the heat it gives forth.

It appears from the experimental inquiries of Dr. Böcker and others, that the copious internal use of water has exactly the antagonistic effect to that of alcohol, increasing the amount of the excretions and accelerating the metamorphosis of tissue; and those who have watched the results of the hydropathic treatment judiciously applied in appropriate cases, cannot fail to be struck with its renovating and invigorating effects. These again correspond closely with the results of the system of 'training' for any great feat of nervo-muscular power; this being unconsciously

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directed in every particular to promote the metamorphosis of tissue. What Horace told us long ago is equally true now:—

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit,
Abstinnit Venere et vino.

We are glad to find our own views on this point confirmed by those of so high an authority as Dr. Parkes, the former Professor of Clinical Medicine in University College, now Professor of Hygiene in the Army Medical School, recently established by the government, at Chatham.

"It seems to me," says Dr. Parkes, in his recently published treatise "*The Composition of the Urine in Health and Disease*," (p. 79,) "that the obvious deduction from our present physiological knowledge is, that the more rapid the healthy metamorphosis of the body, within certain limits, the more urea and pigment are formed, the more perfect is nutrition, *as long as nutriment* is supplied in sufficient amount, and as long as the formative powers can use it. In the immense excretion of children, and in the retarded metamorphosis of old age, we see the two ends of the scale, and have the proof that growth and progress are corollaries of rapid metamorphosis and elimination. Have we then a right to conclude that anything which impedes healthy metamorphosis is hurtful, and that in checking disintegration it will equally check formation? Perhaps, without going at present quite to this length, we may believe that the most perfect condition of health is rapid building and rapid unbuilding; and all the most strengthening hygienic means, as exercise, sea air, saline baths, and abundant nutritious food, act by forwarding both these processes. Appetite increases, but at the same time the action of the eliminating organs is also increased; the body gains weight, although there must be increased rapidity of the molecular currents and chemical changes."

"The training for the ring may be taken as an illustration of my meaning. The prize-fighter eats largely of animal food: he thus, if Bischoff's and Voit's experiments be received, increases both the formation and the disintegration of tissue; and it is to be presumed that the excretion of urea during training must be increased. The prize-fighter brings into play another factor of elimination, for he gradually increases his muscular movements to an enormous extent, and by so doing he must absorb much more oxygen than usual, and give out more carbonic acid. All the three great factors of metamorphosis, viz., nitrogenous food, oxygen, and movements, are thus increased, and the amount of metamorphosis must also go on augmenting up to a certain point, as the bulk of the tissues increases. So far the prize-fighter may be said to follow the dictates of common sense; but now how does he act with regard to alcohol and wine, and the substances usually supposed to give strength, and to limit the necessity for food? Why, he almost discards their use: he takes no spirits, no wine, only a little weak beer (which he might with advantage leave off), but drinks to any amount of pure water, or fluids equivalent to it; and

thus, taught by experience, he employs another most potent agent in elimination. Under this *régime* his health improves wonderfully; he can bear any fatigue; morbid causes are comparatively inoperative; injuries are recovered from, and, for the time, he is the very type of health and vigour. That the class is not a healthy one, is owing to reckless living between the periods of training."

These remarks were written, Dr. Parkes tells us, long before the attention of the public and of the medical profession was strongly directed by the recent prize-fight to the subject of "training;" and he anticipates that this celebrated contest will not be without its good effect in making it more generally understood that the true source of strength of body is to be found in nutritious food and active exertion, rather than in the use of alcoholic drinks.

But whilst, for the maintenance of the full vigour of health under conditions strictly normal, it is undesirable to place any check upon the metamorphic processes, there are conditions which in this busy life of ours can scarcely be considered as abnormal, in which the use of some of the "Arresters of Metamorphosis" is clearly indicated. As Dr. Chambers has truly remarked:—

"The proverbs of all tongues show how work purely mental exhausts the body; how, for instance, not only the painful emotions, care, sorrow, anxiety, but the nobler enthusiasms, the afflatus of the poet, the ambition of the patriot, the fixed attention of the scholar, the abstraction of the lover, fret to dust their tenement of clay."

There is a tendency that is common to most persons of more than average mental activity, though much greater in some temperaments than in others, to an irritable condition of the nervous system, in which every impression produces an exaggerated effect, the smallest and most commonplace matter becomes a worry and a care, and genuine repose and tranquillity are banished by the intrusion of trains of thought and the access of perturbations of feeling which it is almost beyond the capacity of the individual to restrain. Now it is in their power of relieving this condition, and of keeping in check the tendency to it, that we consider the great value of the "arresters of metamorphosis" to lie. Universal experience shows that alcohol (in small doses), tea, and tobacco, alike have the power of exerting a most potent *calmative* influence on these irritable states; an influence which seems precisely in harmony with the teachings of science in regard to their physiological action. The choice among these may be guided by the experience of each individual as to what he finds most suitable to himself, provided that he has self-command enough to keep within the limits which sound judgment pre-

scribes, and does not begin with either alcohol or tobacco as a *medicine*, to continue its use as a habit of sensual indulgence. We need scarcely point out the special risk that attends the frequent employment of any articles possessing the extraordinary seductive powers which each of these can exert to the detriment of such as yield to their fascinations; the moral enslavement which results from the weakening or dethronement of the governing power of the will, being, in our apprehension, the most pernicious of its consequences. The dreamy listlessness in which the habitual smoker passes a large portion of his time, is only in degree less pernicious than the sottish stupidity of the drunkard; the want of the healthful vigour of the well-stored and well-disciplined mind being as obvious in the one case as in the other. The moderate use of tea is not equally liable to objection; and the daily experience of millions testifies to its virtues. "The cup that cheers but not inebriates," has, no less than alcohol, the power of allaying that peculiar weariness of brain which is the first stage of the irritative condition just now alluded to. Whether or not it does this by acting as an "arrester of metamorphosis" seems questionable; the statements of Böcker and others upon this point being opposed by Dr. Edward Smith, who maintains that the use of tea rather promotes than retards the metamorphoses of tissue. It would certainly appear, however, from that general and long-continued experience, which, when carefully scrutinized, affords a better basis for deduction than brief and limited experiments, that tea shares with alcohol in the power of making a limited quantity of food go further. It is marvellous upon how small an allowance of solid food the poor basket-woman can manage to keep body and soul together without grievously feeling her privation, so long as she can comfort herself with her cup of tea; which, so far from being an expensive luxury, is probably to her, in regard to what it saves, the cheapest portion of her dietary. And there is abundant evidence that when privation has reached its extreme point (as in the case of the first Arctic expedition of Franklin and Richardson), where there has been a choice between tea and alcohol, the former has been preferred on account of its more constant and more lasting benefit. Doubtless tea has seductions of its own, especially to the man of studious habits, who avails himself of the stimulating action which it possesses when taken in excess, to get more work out of his brain than it can be rightly called on to perform; but however long the evil results of such habitual overtaking may be postponed, they are sure to manifest themselves at last in that general break-down which is the necessary sequence of a long-continued excess of expenditure over income.

There is one evil which it is probable that the habitual use of

any of the "arresters of metamorphosis" has a tendency to produce, but which seems especially liable to result from the regular use of alcoholic beverages :—namely, the progressive degeneration of the blood and of the tissues by the substitution of fatty matter for their normal constituents. This degeneration, as is now well known to pathologists, lies at the foundation of a large proportion of the diseases of advanced life ; and though precise evidence that it is produced or even favoured by the moderate use of alcoholic liquors is yet wanting, yet there is so much that points in this direction in the results of observation and experiments, that a remote source of danger in such "moderation" is not vaguely but distinctly indicated. That the tissues and blood of drunkards, as well as of such as (like brewer's draymen) are always drinking yet never drunk, are ordinarily in a state of fatty degeneration, has now been fully established ; and the explanation of this fact is made pretty obvious by the power which the presence of alcohol in the blood has been shown to possess of retarding the elimination of effete matters from the body,—fat being one of the forms through which the hydrocarbonaceous portions of those matters pass in the course of their removal. Now the recent French experimenters, as we have already mentioned, were struck by the fact, that this excess of fat made itself apparent in the blood after even a single large dose of alcohol ; and their researches also give evidence of the unexpectedly long time during which alcohol, even when taken in very moderate quantity, remains in the current of the circulation. The blood of a man, therefore, who takes his pint of brandied wine, or his three or four pints of strong malt liquor per day, can scarcely ever be free from alcohol ; and its continued presence must exert a prejudicial effect upon his general nutrition, which must far outweigh any benefit which the ingestion of that amount of alcohol can possibly confer upon a man in ordinary health, the real utility of alcohol (save in extraordinary cases) being limited to what may properly be termed its medicinal power, and this being exerted in small doses.

Now that the course of events has forced the condition of our Indian Empire upon the attention of the British public, and every question relating to its administration is felt to be one in which the nation and not a mere faction of it is involved, it is to be hoped that the teachings of science and experience on the subject of the use of alcoholic, and especially of spirituous liquors, by the European soldiery in India will no longer be ignored, as they have too generally been. Owing to a prevalent idea that alcohol could impart a power of resistance to the depressing and morbid influences of a tropical climate, it was long the regular practice in our Indian Army to issue a spirit ration before breakfast ; and

the soldier who thus commenced with a morning dram, finding himself tormented by thirst all day, was driven by it to the canteen, where, in the cheapness of the common spirit of the country, he found too great encouragement to the gratification of his craving for stimulants. The consequence has naturally followed that drunkenness, as all our Indian commanders and medical officers know too well, has been a most prolific source both of crime and of disease; frequently bringing a large proportion of our troops into a state of reckless insubordination (as in the well-remembered case of the capture of Delhi), and frightfully increasing the ratio of sickness and mortality. A most important step was taken many years ago by the authorities of the Madras Presidency, in the abolition of the spirit ration and the substitution of malt liquor; and its advantages have become so apparent that, in spite of considerable difficulties, the example has been followed, wherever it has been deemed practicable to do so, in the other Presidencies. Still, however, the canteen system is continued; and though intemperance, with its concomitant insubordination and disease, has notably diminished, yet much still remains to be done; and it is of great importance that the force of enlightened public opinion should be brought to bear on this matter.

We have as yet no positive data for asserting that the eliminating process by which alcohol is got rid of from the system is carried on more slowly in hot climates than in cold; but it may be taken as a certainty, that either from this or from some other cause, a given dose of alcohol will produce more violent effects in the former case than in the latter. The amount of spirit which many a Swede or a Highlander swallows daily without showing the least excitement, would bring one of our soldiers in India into a state of furious drunkenness; and a continuance of the like dose for two or three weeks will almost certainly induce an attack of *delirium tremens*. The use of every possible means to discourage the abuse of alcoholic beverages is therefore specially called for in the Indian service. We are told on the authority of an experienced Indian medical officer, that

“Medical men are unanimous on this point, and have urged the authorities again and again, through their hospital reports, to abolish this pernicious custom, and the canteen system altogether, and to substitute in its place wholesome beverages adapted to the climate, and an improved kind of refreshment room;” and that “such truths have been so repeatedly brought forward by medical men and the advocates of the temperance cause, that one would think there could be no necessity for reiterating them, did not experience convince us of the necessity of doing so, and of endeavouring by every means to convince those who differ on this point, of the advantages to be expected by

adopting the plan proposed for the European soldier in India, viz., that of total abstinence from wine or spirit."

Mr. Baddeley, from the appendix to whose interesting work on Whirlwinds and Dust-storms in India (noticed in a later part of our present number), we extract the foregoing observations, further tells us as the result of his personal experience:—

"Before commencing hospital work in the early morning, during times of prevailing sickness, I have made it a practice to take hot tea or coffee, by which means the system has been invigorated and rendered capable of resisting atmospheric influences, which otherwise, there is reason to believe, would have produced injurious effects. I have thus repeatedly escaped sickness."

And he cites, in support of his views, the following important testimony, from officers high in the service.

Colonel Dawes, of the Bengal Artillery, writes thus:—

"My experience is, that nearly all the crime affecting our European troops in India has originated in the use of spirituous liquors. I consider abstinence from spirits a turning point in the life of many a soldier. The man becomes quite an altered character when he drops the pernicious stimulant; more cleanly in person, respectful to his superiors, and respectable in character, and from the increased dependence that may generally be placed upon him, he becomes altogether a more valuable man, both in the field and in quarters. I have seen many a bad character converted by abstinence from spirits into a steady, able-bodied, hard-working, courageous soldier. On the other hand, I have remarked that the best men have at times become next to useless from indulgence in liquor. My conviction is, that the less liquor the European gets the better: but I am not prepared to say that the allowance of a quart of beer or porter is injurious, though many, I am sure, do better without it. As you are aware, the soldier can do without liquor, as has been proved on many occasions. At Jellalhabad this fact was well illustrated. The 13th Light Infantry, beleaguered there, was not supplied with spirits during the siege, which lasted *five months*. The men were nevertheless *remarkably healthy* during the whole period, notwithstanding incessant hard work, which was carried on with great alacrity and cheerfulness, the men being always well-behaved and good-tempered. After the garrison was relieved, liquor was again issued, and the difference in the conduct and appearance of the men was very marked. At Canbul too, in a fine climate, this regiment was not nearly so healthy as before, from the same cause, and lost many men during the winter months.

"A great advantage will be gained when once spirituous liquor is abolished entirely. The soldier's life in India will then be both a happier and a longer one. The free introduction of malt liquor would enable the change to be effected without difficulty. Care should be taken, however, to have good coffee and tea provided regularly in each

troop and company; and the first thing in the morning, each man should have some offered to him before going out to duty; and also in the evening, as he may desire it. The men soon learn the value of this, and when properly managed, it is alike beneficial to health and morals. I have been assured by one of the ablest of our surgeons in India, that he attributed the remarkable healthiness of a portion of the troops in a large station, at a time of great sickness prevailing among the rest of the troops, to nothing else but the early morning cup of coffee. A man should be selected from each company to superintend the proper supply of good coffee, and be allowed a small profit for his trouble. I believe the men will, in almost every case, willingly join these coffee-clubs."

On this, Mr. Baddeley remarks :—

"My own experience corresponds entirely with what Colonel Dawes says. The arrangement he recommends is essential to success: when the tea or coffee is bad, or its preparation is left to native servants or cook-boys, the beverage is not drinkable, and the men would reject it with disgust, and again have recourse to spirits or intoxicating liquors."

And he adds the following strong expression of well-considered conviction from Major-General Wyllie, C.B., of the Bombay Army.

"I quite concur in the opinion expressed by Colonel Dawes, that it is very desirable to abolish the spirit-ration in the Indian army; because it appears to me to foster a habit of dram-drinking that leads to much evil. Some years ago, when serving in Scinde and Afghanistan, I remarked that little or no crime was committed by our European soldiers while quartered in those countries, chiefly owing to their inability to procure spirits with the same facility as in India. On our return to India, many of the non-commissioned officers of one of the same well-conducted regiments, were reduced to the ranks in consequence of indulgence in spirituous liquors at a station where, as usual, it was easily procurable. My own observation and experience incline me to assert that indulgence in spirituous liquor in a climate like India shortens life to an alarming extent. A certain quantity of beer or porter, without spirits, seems to me quite sufficient stimulant for a healthy man; good coffee and tea, properly prepared, should also be freely supplied morning and evening."

General Wyllie judiciously adds :—

"Want of employment is doubtless a source of great evil in India. In addition to the usual privilege of being permitted to work at their respective trades when off duty, on the western side of India, the men have ground allotted to them at the different European stations for the purposes of gardening; which plan, as far as it goes, has been found to answer remarkably well."

ART. III.—CANADA.

1. *Travels in Canada, and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania.* By J. G. KOHL. Translated by Mrs. PERCY SINNETT. Revised by the Author. 2 vols. London. 1861.
2. *The Victoria Bridge, at Montreal, Canada.* Elaborately Illustrated with Views, Plans, Elevations, and Details of the Bridge. Together with the Illustrations of the Machinery and Contrivances used in the Construction of this stupendously important and valuable Engineering Work. The whole produced in the finest style of Art, pictorially and geometrically drawn, and the views highly coloured, and a Descriptive Text. Dedicated to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and presented to H.R.H. on the opening of the Bridge, August 25, 1860. By JAMES HODGES, Engineer to the Contractors. London. 1860.

“EVERY day, every hour of this long tour has only convinced me more and more how little the English people know of their brothers in Canada.” So runs the conclusion of the *Times* chronicler of the tour of the Prince of Wales. And he was not far wrong. The mass of our educated people, even, have a dim, vague idea of Canada as a dreary region, covered with dense icicle-hung woods, that are scantily peopled with fur-clad backwoodsmen, who have to keep bears and wolves off while they wield the axe; in fact, as a country the very thought of which makes one shiver and shudder: and, as if the horrors of such a picture could be heightened, they imagine frequent raids from grim, inexorable Indians, who silently, but surely, carry off a full tale of scalps from the aforesaid unfortunates. All other American varieties are calmly lumped together as almighty-dollar-worshipping, dinner-bolting, tobacco-chewing, spitting, liquoring, snivelling Yankees.

Canada has been singularly unknown among us Europeans from her discovery down to our own times. Her industrial progress may be said to have first dawned on us at the Great Exhibition of 1851; and it was at the Exposition Universelle of Paris, in 1855, Count Jaubert observed, that his countrymen could now estimate the value of those few acres of snow ceded to England in 1763.

The recent Transatlantic tour of the Prince of Wales will

probably, however, have done more than anything hitherto towards acquainting our people with their kinsmen who have left the mother-country. We hope it may also have a beneficial effect on the counsels of British statesmen, when called upon to handle one of the oft-occurring "difficulties" in the delicate relations between the old country and the new—between the ancient kingdom and her nominal province.

Coincidentally with the return to the home country of the heir-apparent to both kingdom and outlying half-independent province, we welcome the appearance of an English translation of the book in which M. Kohl exhibits, on a new field, his well-known power of vividly portraying a country. His reminiscences are well put together. He is particularly happy in avoiding wearisome minuteness and needless triviality. He has been fortunate in having his pleasant, shrewd, and scholarly book worthily set before the British public, with whom it would naturally be in greatest demand.

M. Kohl enters Canada from New York, by the Hudson river and Lake Champlain route; the most impressive approach to it, save that of its vast estuary, and "the most direct route from the great central organ of vitality in the Union to the valley of the lower St. Lawrence."

Montreal, about 400 miles from New York in the south, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the north-east, is the actual point of confluence, in which what may be termed the Champlain-Hudsonian and the Laurentian arteries meet. In Montreal, too, the latter is joined by the mighty Ottawa from the north-west. From Montreal, again, the two gigantic floods roll on in one channel to the northern Atlantic. As the meeting-point of these four great arteries, Montreal may be considered the heart of Canada. And it is such, not only in a geographical, but also in a financial, a commercial, and an ethnological point of view. It is to Canada what New York is to the United States.

Let us now trace up to this heart of Canada, what must be viewed as the main artery of that country, the lower St. Lawrence, her natural channel of communication with the northern Atlantic. The most interesting mode of doing this is in company with the European voyagers who explored it. On Midsummer-day, in the year 1497, nearly four months before Columbus sighted the mainland, John Cabot, the Venetian merchant of "Bristowe," bearing letters patent from our Henry VII., discovered a coast south of Greenland, which he significantly named *Prima-Vista*, but which afterwards changed its name to Labrador, on supplying the Portuguese slave-merchants with excellent labourers. Parted from it by the narrow Strait of Belle

Isle, Cabot found the large island now called Newfoundland.* He named it St. John, as having been discovered on the festival of the Baptist. The sailors and the chroniclers, however, termed it Baccalaos, the native name of the codfish with which its waters abounded. It forms the main partition between the great Atlantic and a basin some two hundred miles wide, throwing out horns to the north-east and to the west, to the Strait of Belle Isle and the *embouchure* of the great Canadian river. Gomez, the Spaniard, is supposed to have entered this basin in 1525, but the first well-authenticated visits to it are those of Jacques Cartier, who coasted much of it in 1534 and 1535. In the latter year he gave the name of St. Lawrence to a bay of its north shore, which he entered on the 10th of August, the festival of that saint. This insignificant bay has long lost that name, which, however, has been honoured by translation, not, indeed, to a group of stars in the heavens, like the heroes and heroines of Greek legend, but to a goodly part of our globe's surface, to a little world of "waters under the firmament." Like Hellas, Italia, and Asia, the name of St. Lawrence has in process of time extended to the whole basin, and even up the huge long flood, which enters it from the west;† nay, it is now assigned to the whole of the enormous system of rivers and inland seas which unite in that flood, and it is thus carried more than two thousand miles inland. Below the original Gulf of St. Lawrence, Cartier found the large island now called Anticosti.‡ The ascent of the St. Lawrence River is usually considered to begin here, and its southern shore with Gaspé, the scene of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. If, however, a river be a stream of fresh water, the domain of the St. Lawrence River can scarcely be considered to begin, or that of the Atlantic Ocean to end, until we are at least three hundred and sixty miles above the cliffs of Gaspé.§ It is about three hundred miles above that the

* It has been conjectured to have been that now called Prince Edward's Island, but the position of the latter does not tally with Cabot's log.

† Cartier speaks of the river as that of Hochelaga, or of Canada. Till but lately, the part between Montreal and Lake Ontario has been called Cataract, or Iroquois.

‡ It was long unexplored, though in 1825 transferred from Labrador to Canada, and made a *Seigneurie*. The geological survey under Sir W. Logan has removed the erroneous belief in its worthlessness, and shown it to be well wooded, and to contain much arable land. Its situation at the mouth of the estuary is a noteworthy one.

§ We were told that the water is quite salt at the rocks called "The Pillars," sixty miles below Quebec. Bonchette (Topographical and Statistical Description of Canada, vol. i.) says, at Kamouraska, ninety miles below, but that the water has a saline taste twenty-one miles below Quebec.

greatest subsidiary volume of water is contributed by the Saguenay, a river navigable for the largest vessels seventy miles up, and what with its stupendous depth,* its sombre colour,† and the grandeur of the cliffs through which it there rolls, one of the most wonderful in our globe. Beyond this part of its course are rapids and cataracts, and a hundred and twenty miles up it issues from a round lake, some thirty miles in diameter, and called Lake St. John, above which, again, it can be traced to a source at least two hundred and fifty miles to the north-west. It was on the 1st of September, 1535, that Cartier entered this king of rivers, whose grandeur impressed him with that of the land he had discovered. We ourselves ascended it towards the close of August two years since, and would rank it, scenically, as second only to that which may be called the Niagara branch of the St. Lawrence. It is, at all events, the Niger or Joliba, the "dark-rolling" flood of the New World. Cartier surveyed its entrance, and passed on up the St. Lawrence to the island which he named from the filberts it then abounded in. It is noteworthy, as inhabited by the most primitive Franco-Canadians and their purest breed of horses.‡ Closing a string of islands above, Cartier found a larger one, then a tangled maze of tree-climbing, luxuriant wild vines, no other than those of "the good vine-land" of voyager Leif and antiquary Rafn. Cartier appropriately named it L'Ile de Bacchus. It is now, as L'Isle d'Orleans, famous for its plums. Next day the great Frenchman anchored in the fine basin between this island and Quebec. Beneath the site of the present fortress there lay the wigwams of a chief, with whom he had much friendly intercourse, and whom he terms "il signor de Canada." On the northern shore of the St. Lawrence, the graceful cascade of the Montmorency, falling into it, is here visible, while between it and the mountains in the

* Bayfield's trustworthy Survey, published by the Admiralty, makes it usually 100 fathoms deep at the sides, and 150 in the centre, in one recess, one and a quarter mile, and in another one and a half, and states that, were the St. Lawrence pumped dry, there would still be 100 fathoms of water in the Saguenay.

† The colour of the Saguenay is, perhaps, caused by the pitch-pines on its banks, deepened by its prodigious depth, and the shade of its lofty margin. It is to those trees, more than to bogs, that Professor Agassiz attributes the brown hue of the streams that fall into Lake Superior, one of which we ascended. The same hue one observes in the Ottawa. M. Kohl attributes it there to plants; Sir R. Bonnycastle to its chemical components. That of the Saguenay can scarcely be accounted for by anything short of a mineral cause.

‡ M. Kohl gives an interesting account of them. He "was often reminded of the almost indestructible horses of Poland and Russia." (Kohl, vol. i. p. 232.)

background, which shoot up many a peak parallel with the lower river, is a fine bit of cataract-scenery, termed the Natural Steps. The Indian group of wigwams, called Stadicona, gave place, in 1608, to the renowned city of Quebec,* then founded by Champlain. Passing the mouth of the large tributary, now called St. Maurice, whose sources, some 250 miles northward, mingle with those of the Saguenay, Cartier reached Hochelaga, a larger native settlement than Stadicona. On its site now stands the city of Montreal.†

Accompanying again the route of discovery, we soon reach La Chine, a village so called from La Salle's enthusiastic hope of achieving by the route of the St. Lawrence a communication with China; an idea that may yet be worked out, when the oft-talked-of railroad is carried across the continent, and steamers in connexion with it start from Vancouver's Island. It is worthy of note—and a curious coincidence—that La Chine is now the residence of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, a body whose power is felt from Atlantic to Pacific. The ascent of the upper St. Lawrence was attempted by Cartier in 1541, but stopped by the rapids, now surmounted by canals. Nor did Champlain reach Lake Ontario by this route, or grope his way through the beautiful labyrinth of the Thousand Islands. After his second expedition up the Ottawa, he crossed the forest to that large and deep oval body of fresh water,‡ which is chiefly remarkable for the distinctness of those terraces on its north-eastern shores, in which Sir C. Lyell saw evidence of its area having been formerly greater. At its outlet is the town that has successively borne the names of Cataracoui, Frontenac, and Kingston, still second only to Quebec as a British stronghold in North America, but destined to yield

* Charlevoix says that the name Quebec is Indian, signifying *retrecissement* in the Algonquin tongue, while in a kindred dialect, *Quebec* means *ce qui est fermé*. La Potherie says it originated from Cartier's Normans exclaiming *Quebec!* when they saw it. (!) It is more probably French, the name, as that of a locality, appearing on a seal of 1420, bearing the legend, "Sigillum Willielmi de la Pole, Comitis Suffolckie, Domini de Hamburg et de Quebec."

† Montreal is a corruption of Mont Royal, the name he gave to "The Mountain,"

—————qui proximus urbi
Imminet,

a commanding and far-visible hill, such as Homer and Pindar would have called *εὐδείελος*.

It was not, however, till 1641 that a palisaded town called Ville Marie was built on the Island of Montreal, destined like York (Toronto), and Bytown (Ottawa), to change her name, but become the parent of a great city.

‡ Lake Ontario is at least as large as the tract covered by the south-western peninsula of England—the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, and much larger than Yorkshire.

that place, at least, to Ottawa City. Its importance was at its climax in the days of the great man from whom it got its second name; but it was scarcely less in the American war of 1812. On the union of the Canadas in 1841, it was made the seat of Government for a short time; but, since its loss of that distinction, it has been outstripped by Toronto in the western part of the northern shore of the lake, while Hamilton in the extreme west is fast approaching it in importance. The Canadian shore has, commercially, even "gone a-head of" the "Yankee." It is lined with growing and thriving communities, reminding one of the Greek colonies on the coast of Sicily. The history of Toronto is a more than usually interesting one. It owes its creation to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, who selected its site for the seat of Government in preference to that at the mouth of the Niagara River, or to Kingston, the governor-general's favourite. Kingston he seems to have rejected as too far east, Newark (the present Niagara) as too near the United States—a moat of no great width intervening. Though Toronto is not within range of an American Fort, its exposure to American gun-boats, in event of a war, was recently considered a fatal objection to it as a candidate for the seat of Government. Its site, when surveyed in 1793, was a luxuriant swamp, containing the wigwams of two Indian families, and wild fowl in abundance for the diversion of the British officers. The town of York was commenced next year in this unhealthy spot, better fitted, it has been said, "for a frog-pond or a beaver-meadow than for the residence of human beings." The irreclaimable swampiness of its eastern part still keeps up a perpetual low fever; it is only at some little distance up the gentle slope from the lake that it is fairly eligible for habitation, with, of course, great attention to drainage. Its recommendation was its harbour, formed by one of those sandy spits (such as is called in the Baltic a *nehrung*) that are found in the great lakes; but this foreland, which was, indeed, attached to the shore by only a swamp, has now, like Long Point in Lake Erie, become literally "The Island," to the ruin of Toronto as a harbour of refuge—a disaster that might have been averted by timely precaution. The Parliament of Upper Canada met there from 1796 to 1841, when the two Canadas were united after a separation of fifty years, and again in 1850 and '51, on the burning of the Parliament-buildings of Montreal. Since that year it has met for alternate periods of four years at Quebec and Toronto, but, after its present session at the former, it is understood that the new buildings at Ottawa, of which the foundation-stone was recently laid by the heir-apparent, will receive it permanently—if any arrangement in Canada can yet hope for anything like permanence. In 1813 the young settlement was twice burnt by the American invaders.

In 1834, having attained a population of above 9000, it was thought that its dignity and that of its inhabitants would be enhanced by a more dignified name. To distinguish it from York in the mother country, and New York in the States, it had been nicknamed Little York, or, from the muddiness of its streets, Dirty Little York. The Indians had called either the spot or the bay Toronto.* This sonorous name was substituted, M. Kohl heard, by a special Act of the Provincial Parliament. He thinks the authority of the Postmaster-General should have sufficed. It was, we understood, an act effected by a few strokes of the pen of the Anglican Bishop.† With regard to population, it was very scanty even thirty years after Parliament had met here, but in the next thirty it swelled to 50,000, the return of the census of 1856. On the east side of the city, a river sluggishly winds into the lake out of a pretty wooded valley. Beyond its swampy *embouchure* rise the only cliffs of Ontario. The land back of Toronto ascends, in the terraces we have mentioned, to a height of 750 feet, midway between it and an elevated basin 70 miles in circumference, which bears the name of the energetic founder of Little York. One of his first acts was the Appian work of a road to it, called Yonge-street, a term reminding us of our Watling-street. This charming forestmere, now connected with Toronto by a railroad, contributes its surplus water to Lake Huron—or rather its lake-like Georgian Bay—through a smaller lake, called Lake Couchiching or Kut-chiching, and a river full of cataracts. Springs about 10 miles from Lake Ontario send down into this loftier reservoir streams that,

* Some say that Toronto meant "the place of meeting;" others, "trees in the water." The former interpretation fitted well the *comitium* of Canada. The latter, M. Kohl gives, as referring to the uprooted trunks of trees drifting in the water, and we can testify to the crowd of logs that rocked among the rushes of the Don swamp, in front of the old town, which has spread westward. It has been also referred to the appearance from the lake of either the trees growing on the low shore, or those on the sandy spit.

† Imagine Bishop Blomfield having quietly, in a public document, substituted some old sonorous name, say Augusta, for our London! This is a trifle, indeed, and a mere joke, but "straws show which way the wind blows," and the fact is that Bishop Strachan down, at least, to the date of the Mackenzie rebellion in 1837, say rather to the passing of the Clergy Reserves Bill in 1854 (correcting the grievance which caused that serious outbreak, and jeopardized the connexion with Great Britain), exercised for some time such a sway in secular matters as our old country even has not seen since the anachronisms of Land.

And the of our colonies, New Zealand, has recently been the scene of a mediæval-like appearance on the secular domain of a Bishop and an Archdeacon of the Church of England; not, indeed, on the exclusive side in opposition to the claims of the excluded, but in defence—to the extent, it would seem, of approving armed resistance—of the claims of the Aborigines against our Government. Whatever be the justice of those claims, ecclesiastics should confine themselves, or be confined, to the spiritual domain.

after a course of at least 800 miles, pass by the place of their birth, finding their way into Ontario, by meandering on a truly American scale through a string of inland seas, and over the greatest of cascades.* From Toronto, in the summer months, a steam of some forty miles brings one to the mouth of the Niagara River, from which one can proceed to the Falls either by railroad along the Canadian side, or by steamer and railroad on the American. Outside, the lake shore is a wooded, gentle slope. The steamer takes one as far as a lofty ridge, seven miles up the river, which, half a mile wide, and forty fathoms deep, flows down, thenceforward quietly, through walls from forty to fifty feet high, of soft red rock relieved by a few trees. M. Kohl thinks that the straightness and depth of this channel through a low flat can only be explained by volcanic agency. It is well known that Sir C. Lyell places the original Niagara Fall at a ridge now half way between it and Lake Ontario, and 330 feet above the present level of that basin, conjecturing that this ridge was, at a remote epoch, the margin of the ocean, and afterwards that of the great lake, which is now six miles from it. M. Kohl urges that the river, while it fell into the lake, could not have operated on the rock beneath, and, therefore, at the contraction of that body of water must have formed a delta. He appears to have overlooked the softness of the rock here, and the force of the concentrated fall of 10,000† tons of water from a height of 300 feet. The depth of the hole below the greater branch of the present fall is supposed to be very great.‡ From that spot to the ridge, at which the cascade is supposed to have formerly stood, with the additional grandeur of double height, and nearly double volume, the river rolls rapidly through a wall of cliffs some 300 feet high. The Americans, with characteristic daring, have actually hewn a path for their railroad along the ever-splintering cliff. The river rolls beneath one's feet; loose stones overhang one, and often drop in the spring.§ The railroad is only compelled to leave

* The watershed of Yonge-street is 230 feet above Lake Simcoe, and that lake is 126 above Lake Huron, 134 above Lake St. Clair, 140 above Lake Erie, and 470 above Lake Ontario. It is 100 above even Lake Superior. There is, however, a small lake, contributing to Lake Huron, 700 feet higher than Lake Simcoe. It is on the watershed between it and the Ottawa, about 100 miles from the former, and 50 from the latter.

† It may have been at one time far more. A very slight upheaval of the surface of North America, west of the great lakes, would send over the Falls of Niagara much of the water that now flows into the Arctic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. The watersheds are very low that divide Lake Superior from Lake Winnipeg, and the Red River, and the Mississippi, Lake Michigan from the latter river and its tributaries, or Lake Erie from the Ohio system.

‡ Even outside the deepest part, it is 60 fathoms deep.

§ In the spring of 1859, shortly before one of our trips along this line, a train

the gorge by the great side-chasm, termed the Devil's Hole, the scene of the Indian ambushade of 1763. Beyond is the beautiful part of the river-scenery, containing the whirlpool, where the width of the stream is about twice its average of 1600 feet, and it is eleven feet higher on the western side than on the eastern. About a mile above the whirlpool the width is, for a short space, but 700 feet, and here it is crossed by the magnificent suspension-bridge,* which comprises two stories, the upper for railway-trains, the lower for carriages and foot-passengers. The work was commenced by the transmission of paper-kites bearing thin wires, as the swiftness of the current at this part prevented even a small boat from crossing with a rope. It is now proposed even to supersede this grand structure, which requires caution, by a tubular bridge,† between the suspension-bridge and the Falls, at or near the spot where we saw Blondin cross on a slack rope in the noon-tide glare of the 14th of July, 1859. It would be hard for even Professor Kingsley to say anything new in a 'word-painting' of the Falls. M. Kohl gives us some graphic descriptions, especially of the scene behind the Horse-shoe Fall, and of a lunar spray-bow on the American, for which we must refer to his book. Of the former he says :—

"At a little distance, as long as the hissing spray is not overpowering, and you can keep your eyes open, the sight is most beautiful. You see above you a transparent mass of greenish crystal spring in a bold arch into the air, and all around you streams are dashing down upon the dark rocks, and then, as if frightened at what they saw there, shooting up again in showers of glittering drops towards the regions

had been but just saved from destruction. A man had been allowed, as is usual in America, to walk along the line, a single one, and came to a yawning gap in it, formed by the giving way of the rock. He returned to Lewiston, and informed the clerk in time for his stopping the next train by telegraph. The New York and Erie Railroad carried us thus some 100 miles along the Delaware.

* The gorge was crossed in 1849 by an iron basket attached to a wire, let down the incline, and drawn up on the other side by a windlass. The bridge was begun in 1852, and first used 8th of March, 1855. It is 250 feet above the river; there are 28 feet between the two stories, and its weight is 800 tons. There are about 100 tons of ballast.

† There is a view of this proposed tubular bridge in the book (placed at the head of this article) on that across the St. Lawrence, at Montreal. We subjoin its dimensions :—

Total length	840 feet
Centre-span	400 "
Side-span	200 "
Height above water	224 "
Width of tube for double track	24 "
Ditto, carriage-way, each side	13 "
Ditto, foot-path, ditto	13 "

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of sunshine they have quitted ; flashing, like showers of sparks, forwards, sideways, in all directions, from the rocky walls, but all at last falling into the deep gulf, and being seen no more. . . .

"It was wild work inside the cavern. Furious gusts of wind blew from all corners, heavy showers dashed in our faces, and in a few moments, in spite of our mummy-like wrappings, we were wet to the skin, lost our breath, and were so blinded by the torrents of spray, that we had to trust entirely to our sense of touch, and feel our way along the rocky walls. The roaring, hissing, and boiling of the waters made such an uproar, that, to communicate with each other, we had to scream with all our might under the flaps of oil-skin by which our ears were defended. I was rather before the rest, and was crawling to one of the last rocks, when the figure of our negro moved swiftly towards me through the cloud of spray ; the great black mouth opened, and I heard under my ear-flap the 'winged words,'—'Stop, sir! Here is the termination rock! If master goes a step further, master fall down fifty feet!'"

The writer of this paper was neither armed *cap-à-pie* "in wax-cloth, oil-cloth, and India-rubber," nor saved by a ghost-like apparition resembling a photographic "negative." Warned by the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who stated that he had found all those elaborate protections useless, and had envied "a smart little Yankee with only an umbrella," he imitated the latter, and went, moreover, alone. True, he got drenched ; but his thin coat soon dried, spread out in the July sun.

Mr. Ruakin's "catenary curves" of high water-falls were observed by Professor Agassiz's* party, in their close approach to these great cataracts on board the little steamer that whisks one all round the tossing cauldron. Here again the gusts make of little use the oil-cloth cloaks and hoods, in which you sit like the group of devils in the "Ingoldsby Legends."

The corpses of those who tumble over the Falls are, if ever seen again, found spinning round in the whirlpool, stripped of all clothing. Great sturgeons seem to be the only creatures that can shoot them unscathed. The otter alone is "too wide awake" to go over, M. Kohl heard from the ferryman. Father Hennepin, "who travelled and wrote in 1678," is commonly said to have been the first white man that beheld the Falls of Niagara. It seems not improbable that Champlain saw them in the course of his sojourn among friendly Indians on the southern shore of Ontario in 1615. At all events, they could scarcely have escaped the knowledge of the Jesuits, who were so often in this neighbourhood between 1634 and 1647, or of La Salle in 1670. M. Kohl thinks that the old Franciscan "got his account only

* Agassiz's "Lake Superior," (Boston, 1850,) p. 18.

from hearsay ;" since, "for instance, he estimates the height of the Falls at 700 feet, that is, about three times what it really is." "A traveller's tales" are, however, proverbial, and, if we were to reject the claims of all exaggerating eyewitnesses, our "historic doubts" would prove very sweeping. Passing by the oft-described rapids, we ascend the broad river to Lake Erie, a comparatively shallow body of water, with flat and monotonous shores.

The break in navigation, caused by the rapids and falls, is met by a canal across the Canadian side of the Niagara River, while the Americans will soon have a similar and shorter link between Ontario and Erie on their own side of the isthmus, from the site of the original cataract to Buffalo. This city, though burnt to the ground in the war of 1812, is twice as populous as Toronto on Lake Ontario, and scarcely less than Chicago on Lake Michigan. The disasters of the Ontario mart on the one side were balanced by that of the Erie one on the other in the drawn game of 1812, which was fought out by land on the Niagara isthmus, by water on those two lakes. Though Canada cannot show one city on Lake Erie, while the States have no less than five, and their craft swarm on its tossing waters, a tract that may be called "the garden" of Canada, lies along its northern shore, bounded on the east by Ontario, on the west by the clear dark-blue depths of Huron.

As the cultivated* part of Canada along the great lakes cannot be fairly extended north of the southern half of this basin, we shall not in this article pursue, as we could with the aid of personal experience, the great Laurentian water-system up the winding channel between Lakes Huron and Superior, and then by the mountainous coast and virgin islands of the northern half of the latter, or follow it up to the chain of imperfectly explored lakes beyond, and sources mapped, like those of the Nile, only from the reports of wandering savages.

On the eastern side of Lake Huron stretch two bodies of water, commonly called the North Channel and the Georgian Bay, but virtually separate basins, communicating with that lake by narrow entrances. The main partition is a large island called Great Manitoulin, deriving its name, as so many do, from the Indian equivalent to Spirit. A little south of the labyrinth of islets that divide from the North Channel the Georgian Bay (sometimes called Lake Manitoulin), is what in railway language would be called Ottawa Road Junction. From this point it is about one hundred miles, as the crow flies, across to the River Ottawa. It is an old canoe-route, involving a few short por-

* The Canadian Government has but recently been selling, in lots for settlement, land on St. Mary River, between Lakes Huron and Superior.

tages. About half the interval is occupied by French River, the outlet of a basin, about a hundred and fifty miles in circumference, called Lake Nipissing, shortly beyond which is a small lake discharging into the River Ottawa. It was by this route, the shortest from Montreal to the upper lakes, that the Jesuit missionaries passed up to Lake Superior in the seventeenth century, and Henry, the English trader, late in the eighteenth (1780). When the canal and railroad, already designed, are made, it will probably be, in the twentieth, a link in the chain of communication between the seaboard of the Northern Atlantic and the Northern Pacific, between Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa City, Saut Ste. Marie, and the chief towns of Rupert's Land, and British Columbia. The point where this route strikes the Ottawa is four hundred and sixty-three miles from its northern sources. There are others, however, some hundred and fifty miles to the east of the northern, near those of the Saguenay. These distances serve to give a notion of the extent of the Ottawa country. The area drained by that water-system is at least eighty thousand square miles, a tract six times as large as Holland. Rising in the watershed between the Hudson's Bay and St. Lawrence valleys, its streams pass through lakes of considerable size, and a country hitherto uncleared and imperfectly surveyed. Even south of the old *portage* and future Huron and Ottawa canal, a tract measuring one hundred miles by one hundred and fifty is still in its wild state. At the junction with the Ottawa, we are fifty-three miles above the present head of steamer navigation, one hundred and ninety-seven above Ottawa City, and three hundred and seventeen above Montreal, where the river unites with the St. Lawrence. When the canals that obviate its rapids are finished, steamer-navigation will be able to reach some seven hundred miles above Montreal in this direction. Above Ottawa City the combination of wood, rock, and water is particularly fine. At one part—

"The current seems to have cut through the rocks like a cannon-ball, and formed a broad channel of from thirty to forty miles in length, between high perpendicular walls of stone. You can look through it with a glass from one end to the other; the depth of water is everywhere equal, and it flows quite smoothly."—(Kohl, i. 243).

Its volume is remarkably great. Where it has to receive tributaries equal to the Hudson, the Shannon, the Thames, the Tweed, the Spey, and the Clyde, it displays, when unconfined, a width of half a mile of strong, boiling rapid; and, when at the highest, while the north waters are passing, the volume, by cal-

culated approximation, is fully equal to that passing Niagara—that is, double the common volume of the Ganges.”*

The view from Barrack Hill, at the city of Ottawa, is a very fine one, especially at sunrise, or, as we enjoyed it, at sunset. You are here at that confluence of four great watercourses, which makes this city a centre of Canadian life second only to Montreal. From the “forest primæval” of the north-west comes the mighty Ottawa, laden with many a raft of the ‘lumber men,’ its yellow timber relieved by their red jerseys and flags. A little to your left it issues from woods, backed by blue mountains, a mass of dancing snow, in which, on a nearer approach, the fleecy foam is beautifully set off by the black rocks and the effervescing pools, which bear those tints of coffee or amber, that the Lyns of North Devon imbibe from the bogs of Exmoor. From the North, a little lower down the great river, comes a tributary whose unexplored course is probably one of 420 miles. Eastward, picking up subsidiaries as it goes, the flood proceeds to its confluence with the St. Lawrence, and the greater heart of British America. Toward the south-east the Rideau Canal, whose designer deserved to “call the city after his own name,”† unites the new seat of Government with Kingston and Lake Ontario. We may add that southward is a railway to the St. Lawrence, from which another passes one on to the Hudson and to New York. Thus the city is by railway 54 miles from the St. Lawrence, by water 120 miles from Montreal, and 126 from Kingston; the former of which cities is about the same distance by water from Quebec that the latter is from Toronto. When, recently, nearly as many cities claimed to be the seat of Canadian Government as did of old to be the accredited birthplace of Homer, Ottawa won the honour, on account of her central position, her comparative distance from the frontier of the States, and her possession of an excellent acropolis in Barrack Hill. A hint too was taken from Brother Jonathan, who has not made New York the seat of the Federal Government, or even of that of the Empire State, and there was the warning of the doings of the Montreal mob in 1850, when they burnt down the Parliament Houses, and pelted Lord Elgin with rotten eggs. For some time at least, Ottawa will probably be to Montreal what Albany is to New York. We must not conclude this brief sketch of the great arteries of Canada, without giving some account of the formation of those rafts that one sees just above Quebec, in the cove which bears the name of the young English

* Report of Railway Committee of Canadian House of Assembly.

† Its name was, till recently, Bytown, from Colonel By, of the Royal Engineers. The canal was intended to secure a communication, besides that of the St. Lawrence, between Montreal and the Lakes, in time of war.

hero who landed there before his first and last battle-field. They are the product chiefly of the enterprising capitalists termed 'lumber-men,' and of the men and their woodmen, whose French name is "Gens de Chantier," from that habit of singing as they ply their task which was made known to our people by Moore's "Canadian Boat-song." Their log-houses are called *chantiers*, whence the English *shanty*, and *shanty-men*. These men live chiefly on salt meat and bacon,* washed down with tea and coffee, the latter of which beverages was formerly only a sham material made from toasted corn, sweetened with the sugar they get by 'tapping' the maple tree, which is to Canadians what the olive was to the Athenians of yore, and well deserves to be the emblem of Canada. Their masters are chiefly of that nation which has given the Hudson Bay Company Lord Selkirk, Sir George Simpson, and most of the 'superintendents' of its 'Forts'; that nation whose sons have shown such capacity for administration in our East Indian Empire also. The Scotch workmen, too, are said to surpass in hardihood even the experienced Franco-Canadians. With regard to the rafts themselves, the difficulties they have to contend with forbid their being constructed so simply as those of the Rhine or Danube. They consist of several portions, termed 'bonds,' each of which is divided again into 'cribs.' A whole 'bond' is sent down a cataract, while, where a wooden slide termed a 'timber-shoot' is provided, each 'crib' speeds down it separately, under the guidance of three or four hardy fellows, to be collected below. It was this lumber population that sent forth a little fleet of canoes to welcome the Prince of Wales to their capital, and it was down one of these 'timber-shoots' that he descended with the Governor-General and the Duke of Newcastle. The timber was formerly sent to Quebec in the rough state, but now it is sawed and planed in mills that avail themselves of what Americans call the 'water-privileges' of the wide Chaudière Falls at Ottawa. We may add that the 'lumber-men' pay Government a yearly ground-rent per acre, and a duty of a halfpenny per cubic foot on the timber, when brought to market. If they bring to market less than a certain proportion, their ground-rent is doubled, or their license withdrawn. Thus they cannot, by renting large tracts and leaving them untouched, selfishly benefit themselves in the consequent rise of the price of wood, and simultaneously injure the public revenue.

The climate of Canada—especially in regard to its effects on man—is a subject exceedingly interesting to those who think of

* "Oui, monsieur," said a Franco-Canadian to M. Kohl, "du loard [bacon], c'est bon pour eux; ça leur donne beaucoup de force." (Vol. I. p. 265.)

emigrating. If they consult the publications that invite them to that country, they will find the favourable side of it dwelt upon, but in a fair spirit. If they think a private friend more trustworthy, and consult him or her, they should make allowance for their friend's constitution. Speaking from an experience of nearly two years, we would say of Upper Canada—the main resort of emigrants—that, in the case of a man of fair constitution, health very much depends on the domestic comforts he may be fortunate enough or wise enough to procure. Let the man who can afford it live in a substantial stone house, and pay proper attention to his drainage. Let him clothe himself warmly, and eat plenty of meat, in the long winter. Let him abstain from excess of iced water and fruit, in the short but intense summer-heat. As long as the country is being cleared, there will be more or less risk of ague and malaria in various forms, and they will affect a man according to the vicinity of his residence to uncultivated land. We may add, that he should stay indoors as much as possible during the hot weather, except in early morning and late evening. If he can spend that part of the year on the Atlantic coast or the inland waters, so much the better. There are fogs sometimes, especially on the shores of the lakes; but, on the average, the air is dry, pure, and stimulating. Hence it is more trying, however, than England to young children, whom it is, comparatively speaking, hard to rear, especially during the summer, when they are carried off by diarrhoea.

As to Lower Canada, it is only necessary to add, that the winter is longer and severer, while, on the other hand, as its settled part—which is tantamount to both banks of the St. Lawrence, save the coast from the Montmorenci to Labrador—contains little or no uncleared land, it has got rid of ague and malaria. In both divisions of Canada it is well to prefer good open-grate fires to the stoves usually adopted, recommended by an injudicious economy, but apt to overheat the room and exhaust the air. To their effects, and also to the habit of sitting indoors which they encourage, is to be traced, we believe, the sallowness, delicacy, or positive unhealthiness of Transatlantic women, as compared with those of their own stock in the British isles. We need scarcely mention that the climate of America is, in corresponding latitudes, far colder than that of Europe, owing to its lack of the Northern Ocean and the many indentations of the sea which temper that of the latter. The north wind is of course particularly keen in Canada, blowing, as it does, from huge fields of polar ice without being softened by intervening water. The west wind, too, is a cold one, coming, as it does, over so vast a mass of land. In Upper Canada, however, the climate is modified by the vast bodies of fresh water that hem it in, contrasting well with that of Illinois

and even New York. Its superiority to even the New England States is shown by the fact that the black walnut, whose wood is such a valuable material for furniture in the skilful hands of its Canadian compatriots, scarce extends its habitation above the city of New York on the Atlantic seaboard. Its very summer-heat is an advantage to Canada, in an agricultural point of view, added to its humidity and the particularly suitable distribution of its rain.

In a geological point of view, the Laurentian valley is palæozoic; the mountainous tract north of it is azoic.

With regard to the former part, the lake-girt peninsula is Devonian and Upper Silurian; the country east of it is Lower Silurian as far as Lake Memphramagog and Quebec; then come Lower Silurian along the St. Lawrence, and Upper Silurian from the aforesaid lake to Gaspé; while, southward again, is a tract of Devonian in the interior, and a strip of carboniferous rock on the coast. This last is a part of the great New Brunswick coal-field, but contains no workable seams. The country, however, from Gaspé to Lake Champlain, contains great mineral wealth. Though the gold found in the drift is too scanty to be made much of, and the quantity of the highly argentiferous lead-ore is small, the beds of chromic iron are promising, and copper mines are worked with fair success.* The magnetic and specular oxides of iron in this region are often accompanied by titanium, the possession of which, in a small proportion, constitutes the value of Swedish iron for the manufacture of steel. Roofing-slates are transported hence to Chicago. Numerous marbles may be expected from the calcareous rocks, and from a long range of serpentine, traced nearly three hundred miles. There are thick beds of soapstone, pot-stone, and whetstone, and large masses of magnesite, yielding a cement that resists the decomposing power of sea-water.

The great iron-rocks of Canada, however, are associated with the azoic Laurentian mountains which extend from Labrador to the British frontier on the west of Lake Superior. Beds from 10 to 500 feet occur, containing from 60 to 70 per cent. of pure

* "In nine weeks after mining operations commenced last year, 300 tons of ore, containing about 30 per cent. of pure copper, were obtained, and the work still continues with much the same results."

"Valuable deposits of the ores here occur in beds, as they do in the copper states of Germany; and this has been confirmed by the recent discovery at Acton (Bagot County), of a most remarkable mass of the vitreous variegated and pyritous sulphuret of copper, constituting apparently the paste of a conglomerate with limestone pebbles, subordinate to the stratification. This discovery naturally enhances the importance with which smaller indications are regarded in other parts." The Canadian Settler's Guide, 10th edition: London. Stanford, 1860, (a compilation embodying the latest information for emigrants), contains the substance of Sir W. Logan's Geological Reports.

iron. There are mines east of Kingston, and furnaces west of that city. The exports to Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania, have amounted to 15,000 tons of ore in two years. In these Laurentian ores titanium is abundant. Veins of lead, seemingly workable, and rensselerite, resembling limestone in hardness and soapstone in its uses, exist in bands of crystalline limestone, which also sometimes show graphite or plumbago, mica, and phosphate of lime, with indications of corundum or emery. The chief representative of the copper region on the Canadian sides of Lakes Huron and Superior is the district of the Bruce and Wellington mines. The Canadian part of this region is 500 miles long. If its breadth be but 12, it is ten times as large as all the mineral country of Devon and Cornwall. Silver, nickel, lead, and zinc accompany the copper. A Montreal company has recently leased the mine in Michipicoten Island (Lake Superior), where "native copper is found in the body of an amygdaloid rock."* We wish we could find room for the entertaining account of this island, and the Indian legend of the discovery of its copper, given in the Report of the Jesuit missionary, Dablon.† Smelting, for which formerly the ore of this region was sent to Swansea, or to Boston, or Baltimore, is now done at Bruce Mine, where one could not recently trace the metamorphoses of the ore beyond its mud-paste condition after passing through the crushing process, the "jigger-works," and the "puddling-troughs." Nor do these mineral regions monopolize that important element in the wealth of a country. There is what is called bog iron-ore, as well as superior stone for building and glass-making, white and red brick clays, peat, freshwater shell-marl occasionally, petroleum-springs, supplying, as we can personally testify, highly serviceable oil, and bituminous shales, which, at Bowmanville on Lake Ontario, were set down as coal, till shown to Professor Chapman, of Toronto University.

The trees of Canada are her especial glory. Those of the Western Peninsula are as remarkable now as when Bouchette, in his survey, observed them, for their sturdiness and variety. The elm, the red (or pitch) and white pine, the oak, and the button-wood are particularly fine trees, of which the elm may be ranked first. Sir R. Bonnycastle took the dimensions of a hale red pine—"merely a chance one by the path-side"—between Lakes Simcoe and Huron, and found its height 200 feet, its girth twenty-six. It would have made a plank eight feet broad. Mr. Linton ("Life of a Backwoodsman," &c.) counted

* *Montreal Advertiser*, Dec. 16, 1859.

† "Relations de ce que s'est passé de plus Remarquable aux Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France." (1660—1670.)

the rings of an oak midway between Lake Huron and the head of Lake Ontario, and calculated that "it had been a sapling about the time when Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce were defending" his "native country." Canadian oaks and elms shoot up to a great height, straight as an arrow. The red pine we have mentioned would certainly have served for

"——— the mast
Of some great admiral,"

if not for the spear of Milton's Titanic spirit, but the white pine, which grows to a height of 160 feet, is much used for masts, though the size of the red is greater, and it is the Jack-of-all-trades, *par excellence*, of all the forest-giants. For general purposes serve also, especially, the tough, compact red and white beech, the red cedar, and the tulip tree. Mallets are made out of the heavy iron-wood, tool-handles and handspikes out of the hickory, posts and rails out of the red cedar. One's furniture is of the black walnut, the maple, or the cherry. The white oak is the favourite of the wheelwright, the white ash that of the carriage-builder, the white oak, larch, and red cedar, those of the ship-builder, while the black spruce supplies him with spars, and the white pine with masts. The chestnut and the white cedar produce good charcoal, the beeches, the maples, and the birches good fuel. The red elm and the sassafras are useful medicinally. The bark of the oaks and that of the hemlock are used by the tanner. The trunk of the balsam spruce yields the turpentine vulgarly called "balm of Gilead," and the "spruce-beer" is extracted from the young branches of the black spruce, while gin is distilled from the berry of the red cedar. The tree-fruits are numerous.

The flowers of Canada, though, in general scentless, surpass ours in variety and beauty. To make their acquaintance, one must not be satisfied with walking along the high-roads or even along the paths in the "bush," but make one's way delicately and deftly over soft spongy swamp, or resolutely through the strongly-matted thicket. Those who do so are amply rewarded; and the British public, which cannot, would, we believe, warmly welcome a popular account of them with coloured illustrations.

The nature of the timber is the guide to the quality of the soil for agricultural purposes. The best land exhibits a growth of "hard-wood" (oak, ash, elm, beech, basswood, and sugar-maple), with a few pines and balsams. Undulations, the result of the fall of trees, indicate a loose soil suitable for wheat, which loves a rich loam above the clay.

Two great tracts, each of nearly 2,000,000 acres, remain uncultivated, the one in Lower, the other in Upper Canada. The

former is in the Eastern Townships, the latter is the area already mentioned below Lake Nipissing, an undulating country, showing a rich growth of hard wood, and bounded, most advantageously, by the great lumber-country on the east, and Lake Huron on the west. The former has yet to be opened up, as the latter is being, by colonization-roads. Along these, in the latter, Government is offering free grants, not exceeding 100 acres, on conditions that insure *bond fide* settling.*

Speaking generally, Lower Canada is the abode of the grazier and dairyman, Upper Canada that of the wheat-grower, owing to the ravages in the former of the midge or weevil, but lately got rid of in the main. From their grossly bad farming, Canadians have not merely not done justice to their excellent soil, but even impoverished it till of late. The yield, however, rises to thirty or forty bushels per acre. Barley averages twenty-seven and a half bushels in Upper Canada, and its growth is increasing. Flax and hemp have a suitable soil and climate, with ample means of water-rotting, and will doubtless be much grown when the scutching is generally done on the spot.

In Upper Canada, the average weight of sheep is, of carcass seventeen pounds per quarter, of fleece four pounds eight ounces. Indian corn, hops, and tobacco flourish, while melons, tomatoes, and especially pumpkins are enormous, these last having exceeded 300 lbs. The plums of the Isle of Orleans, and the apples of Montreal are renowned. Peaches ripen in the open air in the western peninsula, where, as well as in the Eastern Townships, vines do also, and a native grape has been successfully domesticated.

We regret that our *spatia iniqua* do not admit of our touching on the indigenous food of Canada as it deserves. M. Kohl was reminded by the maple-"tapping" for sugar of the custom of getting a syrup from the apple-tree "among the Tartar families of the Crimea," "of the children of the Letts in Courland," who run into the woods in March to tap the birch-tree, and obtain its fermenting sap for "household purposes," and of the turpentine got similarly from the pine in "the mountainous part of Lombardy and the Tyrol." The wild rice, of which M. Kohl gives an interesting account, is extremely nutritious, and considered far superior

* Firstly, the settler must have completed his eighteenth year; secondly, he must take possession within a month; thirdly, he must bring into cultivation twelve acres within four years; fourthly, he must build a log-house, twenty feet by eighteen, and reside there till he has fulfilled the third condition. The same offer is made along roads that are being cut on the right bank of the Lower St. Lawrence. Government is also offering several millions of acres at from 10*d.* to 4*s.* per acre. A pound per acre is the lowest price at which land adapted for farming can be expected from private companies or individuals.

to that of the East Indies. Our garden-fruits, from plums downwards, grow wild and are prized, especially by the Indians, for the conserves they supply.

A region so much covered as Canada with lakes and rivers, besides those so prominent as to be mentioned in this brief article, might be expected to shine in its fisheries. Though, instead of being carefully tended, they have suffered most cruel injury, the yearly value, not including that of the take in non-Canadian vessels, amounts to 942,528 dols. (say 188,505*l.* 12*s.*), of which 380,000 dols. (say 76,000*l.*) is the share of Upper Canada. The Province has recently, however, taken the matter up. A Superintendent of Fisheries* has been appointed. He not only preserves what there are, especially from the reckless spears of the Indian, but breeds salmon artificially with great zeal. The fisheries of the Gulf-coast, of the great river, of its numerous tributaries, and of inland lakes are now offered to private purchase or lease, while stringent protective regulations † are in force, infraction of which is punished by fine or imprisonment. We should add that the cod abounds in the St. Lawrence, the mackerel in its lower part, the herring in the broad Gulf, while whalers go out from Gaspé, the eastern extremity of the Province.‡

The game, too, are now protected by Government, their respective seasons fixed, and snaring forbidden. Deer must be sought in the unsettled parts, as well as bears and wolves. The moose and the cariboo, however, may be found near Quebec. Wild fowl need not be sought far.

We have devoted a comparatively large space to a sketch of the great waters of Canada, but one by no means larger than their comparative importance. Canada, as a home for man, civilized man especially, has been as much made by its inland waters, particularly its St. Lawrence, as Egypt, in the words of its ancient people, was "the gift of its river."

Those great arteries that we have sketched, and the countless other lakes and streams that Keith Johnston's excellent map shows strewn broadcast over this vast region, while they have tempered the cold of the climate to a state suitable for agriculture and for the human constitution, have been the means of introducing the most energetic of the human stocks to the cultivation

* This office, of which Mr. Nettle is the first tenant, was created in consequence of his having, in a well-written little book, appealed to Government on the subject.

† The Fishery Regulations, a list of those of the seventy salmon-rivers now offered, and a clear map, are given in the "Canadian Settler's Guide," at the end of which are the advertisements.

‡ The average value of the oil of one season is 27,000 dols. (say 5,400*l.*).

of the country, and the use of the manifold industrial and economical resources which their abundant water-power* places in the hands of an intellectual population. Indeed the enterprise and skill of the European immigrants have even improved the unrivalled means of communication that these waters have placed at their command. Art has completed the work of Nature. The obstructions left by the latter have been vanquished by the former. A series of canals has carried ships from the Atlantic into the very heart of North America, while the same process is being worked out in the great river that supplies the raw material of those vessels. What may be termed the Laurentian canal-system has been effected at a cost of about 16,000,000 dols. (say 3,200,000*l.*), of which sum about 1,000,000 dols. (say 200,000*l.*), have been expended by the Americans in the recent construction of the link that obviates the rapids between Lakes Huron and Superior. The Americans set the example, as might be expected, opening in 1824 the Erie Canal, constructed by the State of New York, and connecting that city with Lake Erie. It was followed by the construction, on a small scale, of a canal between that lake and Lake Ontario on the Canadian side of the isthmus, by the Rideau Canal connecting the Ottawa with Lake Ontario—a military work of the British Government,—and the La Chine Canal, surmounting that rapid of the St. Lawrence. In 1841 the British Government guaranteed a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for the enlargement of the Ontario and Erie Canal, and for canals to obviate the rapids between Montreal and the former lake. Thus in 1846 Canada possessed a system of canals that took vessels of 800 tons from the Atlantic to the head of Lake Ontario, 1016 miles from Anticosti Island, and those of 400 into the Upper Lakes; while the American Huron-Superior Canal, opened in 1855, extends ship-navigation to the head of Lake Superior, more than 2000 miles inland. Dredging has deepened the shallow expanse that occurs between Quebec and Montreal, so that 18½ feet, instead of 11½, is the draught of water it allows vessels even in summer. Government has also built lighthouses in the St. Lawrence, improved the pilotage, and provided tug-boats.

However, as in England railways superseded in a great measure the much-belauded canals, so was it clear that even Canadian water-communication must bow to the railways of the Northern States, and the latter divert to themselves much of its traffic. Hence, in 1849, the Province guaranteed 6 per cent. on half the

* We may instance the saw-mills, already mentioned, on the Ottawa. There is said to be a great amount of water-power in the undeveloped region of the Eastern Townships.

cost of any railway 75 miles long, and with this encouragement, three railways were commenced: the Great Western, across the lake-girt peninsula; the Northern, to connect Lake Ontario with Lake Simcoe and the Georgian Bay; and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, whose name explains itself. In 1852, however, the guarantee was confined to one main line, that was to pass through the whole length of the Province, and in the same year—

“The Grand Trunk Line, from Montreal to Toronto, and from Quebec to Rivière-du-Loup, was incorporated as part of the Main Trunk Line, with a stipulated advance, by way of loan, of 3000*l.* per mile; the line from Quebec to Richmond having already been commenced as part of the Main Trunk Line, under the original Act. In 1853, Acts were passed providing for the amalgamation of all the companies forming the Main Trunk Line, with powers to construct the Victoria Bridge, connecting the lines west of Montreal with those leading to Quebec and Portland, and also authorizing the lease in perpetuity of the American line connecting the Canadian railway-system with the ocean at Portland, U.S., which, from its admirable harbour, and from being the nearest port to the St. Lawrence, was selected as the point through which the winter trade of Canada could be most advantageously carried on. This city is therefore now the Atlantic terminus of the Canadian railway-system in winter, and has been adopted as the port to which the Canadian line of steam-ships ply while the navigation of the St. Lawrence is interrupted. Efforts have been repeatedly made, as well by Canada as by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, to induce the Imperial Government to promote the extension of the Grand Trunk Railway to some winter port, but without success; and it is as yet wholly beyond the power of the provinces, unaided, to construct a line which is more valuable on national than on commercial grounds.

“The result of the legislation to which allusion has been made, has been the formation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, whose gigantic works are at length on the point of completion; and of this Company it may be truly said, that, comprising 1112 miles of rail, of which no less than 1092 miles are strictly a trunk line, constructed in the most permanent manner, and connecting the American railway-system west of the great lakes with the ocean at Portland in winter, and at Montreal, Quebec, and Rivière-du-Loup in summer, it presents probably the most complete and comprehensive railway-system in the world; and taken into connexion with the unequalled inland-navigation of the St. Lawrence, it cannot fail to attract a large share of the vast and increasing traffic of the West, while it affords to the whole province of Canada the greatest possible facilities for inter-communication.

“The difficulties attendant on the prosecution of this immense enterprise, arising from the Russian war, and consequent rise in the value of money, induced the Legislature, to prevent the stoppage of works so essential to the prosperity of the Province, to come to the relief of

the company, and in 1856 and 1857 Acts were passed giving the private capital of the company priority over the provincial first lien of 3,111,500*l*.

"By this measure the company were enabled to raise additional funds, and the wisdom of the step is now seen in the full completion of the undertaking."

This is the account of the Grand Trunk Railway, given by the Hon. A. T. Galt, Finance Minister of Canada, who has recently proposed to the holders of the Canadian 6 per cent. Government Securities, the conversion of them into others at 5 per cent., a proposal based of course on the increasing wealth of Canada. That country has indeed been benefited by the Grand Trunk, which has given it by far the largest portion of a railway-system that is, in comparison with its population, unrivalled. But—to say nothing of the water communication side by side with it—on account of, firstly, the vast population and shipping of New York proving a most powerful source of attraction to the trade of the interior of North America; secondly, the fact that railways connect her with the great Canadian cities as well as those of the Western States; thirdly, the fact that Baltimore is an Atlantic port about half the distance that Portland is from Cincinnati, while New York and Boston are about one-third the distance from Detroit—the Grand Trunk can scarcely be expected to be very remunerative, if it even pay the expenses of its lengthy course. The shareholders maintain that the Province is responsible for the prospectus, which stated that the average traffic might be expected to be at least 25*l*. per mile per week, whereas the opening of the Victoria Bridge (19th Dec., 1859), raised it only to 12*l*. 10*s*.; an average that has happily of late increased to 16*l*. 10*s*.; and, it is said, would have reached 20*l*., had there but been adequate rolling stock. The shareholders say that, in their memorial of March, 1856, they told the Canadian Government that

"It should be clearly and distinctly understood that the Province of Canada—not merely through its Legislature, but by the direct intervention of its superior executive officers,—assumed a very large share of responsibility towards the individuals who embarked their private means in the Grand Trunk Railway."

They add, that in the second memorial, of April, 1857, they further observed that, firstly, the Company had been required by the Province to spend nearly 2,000,000*l*. in lines indefensible on commercial grounds; while, secondly, the Grand Trunk has already enormously increased the value of land, and immensely benefited Canada and Canadians.*

* See the *Economist* of Oct. 6 and 13, and of Dec. 1, 1860.

On the other hand,* it is contended that the Imperial Government is in fault, on the ground that Lord John Russell's Cabinet pledged itself to recommend Parliament to guarantee a minimum rate of interest, or to advance money on condition of Canada taking on herself some of the military expenses of the country, and carrying a railway from Quebec through Montreal to the foot of Lake Huron. But, we would reply, Lord John Russell's Cabinet could not promise for its successors, and the refusal of that of Lord Derby, owing to the quarrel between Mr. Hinckes and Sir John Pakington, cannot affect their predecessors.

We do certainly consider that the original plan of placing the Atlantic terminus at Halifax—the plan recommended by Lord Durham—was a most wise one, and should have been unflinchingly carried out by the co-operation of the British and the Provincial Governments. That the British people should be mulcted with a disproportionate share of the expense is rather too much to expect of even much-enduring and heavily-taxed John Bull. But Halifax is the natural landing-stage for Europeans in America, being the nearest port on the mainland—400 miles nearer than Portland, 600 nearer than New York or any other port of the States, and the finest harbour in the New World.

Mr. Cauchon,† now a member of the Legislative Assembly of Canada, and in 1857 a member of the Ministry as Commissioner of Crown Lands, denies that the Province was implicated in the encouragement held out by the prospectus of 1853, which was, he contends, the composition of English contractors, who desired to get up a great railway-company, formed exaggerated expectations of the traffic to follow, and imparted them to Canadian officials and leading London capitalists, while the Acts of the Provincial Parliament simply promise the aid of 3,111,500*l.*, and have supplied it.

We believe that, though the Canadians, to raise the interest on those debentures, have to increase the taxation on their imports to from 10 to 15 per cent., the Grand Trunk is too much bound up with the prosperity of the Province to be allowed to cease running even one week.

Young Canada has her clothes made too large for her, to allow of her growing. No wonder then that they cost more than they would do, if made for present requirements. Mr. Galt, her

* "The Present Position and Future Prospects of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada." London: Abbot, Barton, & Co., 35, Wellington-street, Strand. 1860.

† In a letter to the *Journal de Quebec*, copied in the *London Times* of Nov. 19, 1860.

Finance Minister, has the following brief statement of her youthful embarrassments in consequence (see his Pamphlet, p. 33):—

“The direct debt of Canada, including advances to railways, is 9,677,672*l.*, and, after deducting the sinking fund for the redemption of the Imperial guaranteed loan, amounts to 8,884,672*l.*; and the payments on account of the public works of the Province, without reckoning interest, have been as follows:—

Canals, lighthouses, and other works connected with the development of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, represent	£ 3,962,900
Railway advances	4,161,150
Roads and bridges and improvement of rivers	738,350
	8,862,400”

But her public works are not the only causes of the ‘indebtedness’ of the Province. Not only has she had to go through, in her infancy, the calamitous American war of 1812, and the revolt caused by her exclusives in 1837, but the great commercial ‘crisis’ of 1857, and the bad harvests of 1857 and 1858. In consequence of these recent troubles, the Province has been obliged to make large advances to enable the municipalities to pay the interest of their bonds, and, in lieu of this plan, Government now redeems the debentures and holds them against the municipalities. Its advance in interest on the municipal debt costs it 100,000*l.* a-year, and the interest on railway-advances 200,000*l.*

Mr. Galt, on coming into office in August, 1858, found, moreover, a deficiency of 500,000*l.* in the revenue. He has met this grave conjuncture by increase of the duties on imports, and defends his policy in the pamphlet already cited. He says that it would be vain to attempt direct taxation in Canada, and he points to the customs-duties and the excise of the United Kingdom.

On the other side of the balance we must place the growing wealth and stamina of the country, her not having, as we have, a Civil List, and her being garrisoned at the expense of the population of the British Isles.

Things are certainly not so bad as they were in the latter days of French dominion, when M. Bigot, the intendant-general, peculated to the amount of 400,000*l.*—most of it lavished on a mistress, and his bills and orders on the French treasury, to the amount of between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.*, were protested.*

Let us rather, however, fix our attention on the bright part of

* M. Neckar's first step to wealth was the purchase of some of these bills &c., which were afterwards paid by the French Government.

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the picture—the completion in little more than six years of a magnificent railway, 1112 miles in length, and comprising the Victoria Bridge, the greatest engineering work ever achieved. The history of this bridge, which may be considered the keystone of an undertaking that has cost 13,677,000*l.*, is narrated ably, clearly, and entertainingly by its constructor himself—another Xenophon or Cæsar, in a magnificent volume, got up, at a cost of about 4000*l.*, in seven weeks, and itself a miracle of art. What with its gorgeous binding (decorated with the Maple-leaf of Canada, entwined with the Rose of England, the Thistle of Scotland, and the Shamrock of Ireland), its gilt edges, hot-pressed paper, gold border, and wide margin, together with its chromo-lithographs and other plates, it is indeed a volume worthy of presentation to the heir-apparent of the British Empire.

At the end of the book are copies of the inscriptions which have been placed at the entrance of the bridge. They are as follows :—

[On the outer lintel.]

ERECTED A.D. M.DCCC.LIX.

ROBERT STEPHENSON, ALEX. M. ROSS,
ENGINEERS.

[On the interior lintel.]

BUILT

BY

JAMES HODGES,

FOR

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART., THOMAS BRASSEY,

AND

EDWARD LADD BETTS,

CONTRACTORS.

In 1846, the Hon. J. Young of Montreal broached the idea of carrying a bridge across the St. Lawrence, and obtained the opinions of several engineers. In 1852, the contractors went to Canada, at the request of the Provincial Government, to aid, by their examination of the country, in the construction of a railway-system. Mr. Ross, C.E., who went with them, took back to England the reports Mr. Young had procured, and, with these and his own observations, proceeded to design the structure, and laid his designs before Mr. Robert Stephenson, who approved of them, became associated with Mr. Ross as engineer, visited Canada in 1853, and planned the work, as it stands. The bridge is about one mile above the west end of the harbour of Montreal. The St. Lawrence is here 8,660 feet wide; its depth is from 5 to 15 feet at summer level, and 22 when greatest; its bed is of limestone, strewn with huge boulders; while the average rate of its

current is 7 miles an hour. As the piers were to be so made as to break the enormous mass of packed ice that 'shoves' down at this point, the character of the stone was an important consideration. Happily, a suitable kind was found only 16 miles from Montreal, and brought to the spot in barges and steam-tugs.

In the first winter, that of 1853, coffer-dams were made, which were to be sunk in the river during the working season, and then pumped out, and taken to a place of safety. The description of these ingenious machines should really be set by University Examiners for translation into Herodotean Greek, à la the account that the Father of History gives of the Persian despot's devices for his bridge over the Hellespont, and into Latin in the style of the Roman who has left us a chronicle of his military "experiences." We refer for the details to the book before us, or rather to the excellent illustrations.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

The work began with many disheartening circumstances. In winter, the men suffered from frost-bite, and even snow-blindness; in summer, from sun-stroke and cholera; while even men brought from England at the cost of 3000*l.* 'struck' at the end of a fortnight. On the other hand, in the second winter, Mr. Chaffey, a sub-contractor, from a sketch and description brought out by Mr. Hodges, constructed a machine that supplied the place of a costly but useless 'steam traveller,' sent out from England. Mr. Chaffey's was, it seems, like the horse of a farmer of our acquaintance—"a rough un to look at, but a good un to go."

One pier was erected, when, on the 4th of January, 1855—

"The whole of the river and La Prairie Basin were one mass of packed ice, which, being held up by the jamb below, had been accumulating and rising for four days. At last some slight symptoms of motion were visible. The universal stillness which prevailed was interrupted by an occasional creaking, and every one breathlessly awaited the result, straining every nerve to ascertain if the movement was general. The uncertainty lasted but a short period; for, in a few minutes, the uproar arising from the rushing waters, the cracking, grinding, and shoving of the fields of ice, burst on our ears. The sight of twenty square miles (over 124,000,000 tons) of packed ice (which but a few minutes before seemed as a lake of solid rock) all in motion, presented a scene grand beyond description."

No wonder that Mr. Hodges, who witnessed and has graphically 'dashed off' the scene, "felt relieved," when he found pier No. 1 still standing. On one occasion a dam was pushed down some distance by a raft that bore down on it, but it was brought up by anchors and tugged back by three steamers. Some of the

dams were made of 'cribs,' which were torn, when tugged up against the current, and had instead to be conveyed above, and floated down the rapids. Again, a boulder weighing more than 20 tons was not removed in less than six days from a 'puddle chamber.'

In 1857, the continuation of the work was almost despaired of, from want of funds. There was the delay too caused by the huge boulder. At one time a spring of black water spouted up at a blow of the pick, and the men "had to run for their lives." However, in that year the placing of the tube began, and, in the repiecing, it was found that not a single mistake, even in punching, had been made at the Canada works, Birkenhead, to the great credit of the manager and those under him.

In 1859 the work went on rapidly, with no serious reverse. On the 10th of March, indeed, a storm destroyed much of the scaffolding, and, on the 26th, when the sustaining wedges were removed, the screw-jacks employed to lessen the strain gave way, and the tube was found deflected to an extent of nine inches. On the 17th of December, the first train passed over. "About an hour before this was timed to pass, a fearful crash was heard," and they "found the staging drifting down the river with the ice, leaving the bridge perfectly clear of all its temporary works." We hope there were not on the river below a Canadian Tom and Maggie. If so, however, what a *Deus ex machinâ* occurrence for a Canadian George Eliot! Before leaving, the workmen raised a granite boulder, weighing some 30 tons, on a pedestal six feet high, above the 'plague-pit,' in which lay huddled 6000 poor emigrants, who had died here of ship-fever in 1846 and 1847. We may as well add the chief dates. The first part of the coffer-dam was towed into place 24th May, 1854. The first stone of the bridge was laid 20th July, same year. The first train passed over 17th December, 1859, and trains began to run on the 19th; while the bridge was formally inaugurated by the Prince of Wales on the 25th August, 1860. In conclusion, the work was performed by 3040 men, 144 horses, and 4 'locomotives.'

In other than a financial point of view, the state of Canada leaves little to be desiderated. All political grievances have been done away with. The most important was that of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, the main cause of the rebellion of 1837. The Imperial Legislature had reserved one-seventh of the land of Upper Canada for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and the Church of England claimed and held these reserves, but the other religious bodies demanded to share in them, and the existence of an established church was assailed. After much agitation and ineffectual endeavours to compromise the question, the Church of England being asked to admit that of Scotland to

a share, the Provincial Legislature, authorized by the Imperial, annulled all connexion between Church and State, and divided the bone of contention among the municipalities, in proportion to population, after fully compensating the then incumbents, and providing for widows and orphans of clergy. "The Family Compact" was the other cry of those who, in 1837, sought a remedy in the severance of British sovereignty. They pointed to the monopoly of public offices in the hands of some Tory families, whom 'one could count on one's fingers,' and who had so intermarried as to be virtually one family. This cry, and that of the Clergy Reserves, were not hushed till the settlement of the latter in 1854.* It is by Acts of that year, too, and of 1859, that the Seigniorial Tenure in Lower Canada has been completely abolished, by payment of a certain sum by each tenant, and of about \$50,000. from the Province. It had enervated the character of the Lower Canadians, and been an incubus on their industry and natural resources.

By an Act of the Imperial Parliament in 1774, eleven years after the Treaty of Versailles, and fifteen after Wolfe's decisive victory, a Legislative Council was appointed to assist the Governor of the "Province of Quebec," as Canada was then designated. By that of 1791, two Legislative chambers were constituted. Even by the constitution of 1839, though the members of the Legislative Assembly were elected by the people, those of the Council were named by the Crown. The

* Sir R. Bonnycastle, a strong Tory, wrote thus in 1846 :—

"The 'Family Compact' is still the war-cry of a party in Upper Canada, and one person of respectability has published a letter to Sir Allan Macnab, in which he states that, so long as the Chief Justice and the Bishop of Toronto continue to force Episcopalianism down the throats of the people, so long will Canada be in danger. This gentleman, an influential Scotch merchant of Toronto, in his letter, dated Hamilton, C. West, 18th November, 1846, says, that the Family Compact, or Church of England Tory faction, whose usurpations were the cause of the last rebellion, will be the cause of a future and more successful one, 'if they are not checked;' and while he fears rebellion, he dreads that, in case of a war, his countrymen, 'the Scotch, could not, on their principles, defend the British Government, which suffered their degradation in the colony.'

"It is obvious to common sense that any attempt on the part of the clergy or the laity of Upper Canada to crush the free exercise of religious belief, would be met not only with difficulties absolutely insurmountable, but by the withdrawal of all support from the home Government; for, as the Queen of England is alike Queen of the presbyterian and of the churchman, and is forbidden by the constitution to exercise power over the consciences of her subjects throughout her vast dominions; so it would be absurd to suppose for a moment that the limited influence in a small portion of Canada of a chief justice or a bishop, even supposing them mad or foolish enough to urge it, could plunge their country into a war for the purposes of rendering one creed dominant."—(Canada and the Canadians in 1846, vol. ii. p. 35.)

franchise accompanies a house-rent of 6*l.* in the towns, and 4*l.* in the rural districts. The members of the Upper House, too, are now elected, one member being returned by each of the forty-eight divisions of the Province marked out for that purpose. A fourth of their number is elected every two years, and these twelve go out of office at the close of eight years. This House is not like the Lower House, dissolved at the will of the Governor-General, nor does it, like that, die a natural death at the end of four years. The Province has enjoyed complete self-government since 1849, and, in that year, municipalities, possessing the same power, were constituted in Upper Canada, while in 1850 a similar measure was enacted for Lower. Every subdivision,—county, city, town, or township—manages its own internal affairs, as much as the whole Province itself.

Education is zealously attended to by all these corporations, including the Province, and is supported by rates, as well as a Provincial grant of 90,000*l.* Local trustees are elected, and there is an able Superintendent, assisted by a Council of Instruction, comprising every form of religious or political sentiment, while excellent school-materials (books, &c., &c.), are dispensed from head-quarters. There are also normal schools for male and female teachers. Upper Canada possesses at Toronto, its chief city, a Provincial University, non-sectarian, and in a high state of efficiency, with a very able president and staff,* and we believe about 200 students, probably more. Its charter, obtained from Lord Bathurst in 1827, by Bishop Strachan, established it as an institution, of which that prelate was visitor, and the Archdeacon was president, while every member of the council, of whom seven were to become professors, was to subscribe to the 39 Articles. When, in 1849, the University was taken out of the special control of the Bishop, he established one of his own, chiefly by aid of the Home Church. This institution has not thriven as well as it might, if it possessed even the confidence of the religious society that it would be, of course, supposed to represent comprehensively, instead of being merely the seminary and nursery of the High-Church section. This is the more to be wondered at when one considers that the Church of England in Canada, or rather its Canadian affiliation, is a body depending on the support of its own members there, and its co-religionists in the mother-country,

* We may mention, as men of literary note in this country, the Rev. Dr. John McCaul (editor of *Horace*, &c.), who is the President, and Dr. D. Wilson (author of "*The Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*") who is Professor of History and English Literature, and, we may add, editor of the *Canadian Journal*, the able monthly publication of the Canadian Institute.

and, from the composition of the population of the colony, as well as its not possessing what Mr. Bright terms "that part of the national funds at present in the possession of the Protestant Episcopalians"—far less powerful in Canada than at home. The Church of Scotland possesses a University of its own in Queen's College, Kingston. Lower Canada has the University of McGill College, non-sectarian, and now in a flourishing state. It was established through a goodly bequest, and is aided chiefly by private contributions. The Churches of Rome and England have also their respective Universities.

In law, Canada is even 'a-head of' the mother-country; its statutes, which had acquired a surprising multiplicity, having been consolidated into three volumes. Its criminal law has been revised, its prisons are keenly inspected, and there is a Provincial penitentiary, as well as reformatories for the young. However, through a mistaken direction of municipal economy, it lacks (or did but recently) a sufficient force of civic police, especially for the outskirts of its cities, which swarm with thieves and ruffians. Nor must we pass over the frequency of fires, destroying sometimes whole rows of houses, and kindled by incendiaries, chiefly, it is said, with the object of thus procuring employment.

In science, Canada shines brilliantly, what with her geological surveys, since 1844, under Sir W. Logan, as well as the astronomical and highly-important meteorological observations at Toronto observatory of Colonel Lefroy, and his successor, Professor Kingston.

Finally—To what is Canada tending, in a political point of view?

She has an area nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland. Of this region by far the larger part belongs to the eastern section, which, from its greater proximity to Europe, got the start in civilization, but lost it through the depressing effect of the feudalism introduced by her first European occupants. This drag on her progress is now, happily, removed, and she may be expected to make up for lost time with rapid strides. Canada is proverbial for her forests, and has an abundance of excellent soil for the production of vegetable and animal food, as well as waters that may now be expected to yield an amount of fish corresponding with their vast extent, while they offer to enterprise and industry unrivalled economic power. The majority of her population is derived from the most energetic of the European nations, while the remainder is composed of most valuable elements, the French, the German, and the Norse, which respectively contribute hardheadedness, *esprit*, and wiriness. This population, consisting of about 3,000,000, is rapidly increasing, and but 40,000 are settled, out of her 350,000 square miles. It

is calculated that, ten years hence, she will have settled as large a tract as Great Britain. She contains an abundance of mineral resources, while she has coal in the conterminous region of New Brunswick, on the very margin of her own waters, destined to waft it through her every vein.

Such is the raw material before us. Its debt is but one-eightieth of that of the British Isles. Its defences, naval and military, are provided at the expense of those isles. It has no fund to raise for the support of a civil list.

Politically, the colony is as self-governing as she can be. British dominion is a mere sham; she herself makes her postal arrangements with other countries. Her locally independent subdivisions—her townships especially—remind one of the constitution of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, of which indeed they are a reproduction, save that the regal power is but nominal. In the path of internal freedom, she is actually a-head of the mother-country. "The greater," says her Finance Minister, "the measure of reform granted in England, the greater identity will be produced with the state of things in Canada, where the Government of the country necessarily rests almost wholly upon the popular element." The Governor-General sent out to her by the mother-country can no more act in opposition to the will of the Canadian people, than can the reigning Sovereign of the British Isles to that of the British people. Her Upper House no longer consists of nominees of the Viceroy, but is elected by the people. She has, practically, household-suffrage.

Politically, then, whither is this young and highly thriving society tending?

Is it to remain attached by some bond, however slight, to the mother-country? Or is it destined to become annexed to the United States—forming part of a vast Northern Confederacy guarded from the tainting contact of slavery by the "secession" of the South? For ourselves, we see no reason why Canada should not, as regards the United States, preserve her independence. The enormous regions, consisting of British Provinces, which extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, will ere long teem with populations destined to become a mighty nation or cluster of nations of themselves. The prospective hegemony of these rapidly growing peoples is likely, as it seems to us, to be far more attractive to Canadian statesmen than the idea of merging their country in the United States. So great is the freedom and independence of Canada in her present relation to Great Britain, that she has now nothing to gain, but possibly much to lose, by severing herself completely from the mother-country. But the sense of her growing importance and dignity may easily overpower all considerations of material interests, when the question of

declaring her independence is agitated, and, unless England prepares herself so to remould her constitution as to enable her to assemble representatives from her numerous colonies, who may in some sort constitute a Parliament of the British Empire, in which all subjects of Imperial interest may be discussed and determined on, she must look forward to the time, possibly not far distant, when her vast American colonies, as well as others of her possessions, will transform themselves into sovereign states.

ART. IV.—BIBLE INFALLIBILITY—"EVANGELICAL"
DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH.

1. *An Introduction to the Criticism of the Old Testament and to Biblical Interpretation; with an Analysis of the Books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.* Originally written by the REV. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., now revised and edited by the REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A. 8vo., London, 1860.
2. *Facts, Statements, and Explanations, connected with the publication of the second volume of the tenth edition of Horne's Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, etc., etc.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. 8vo. 1857.
3. *Dr. Davidson's Removal from the Professorship of Biblical Literature in the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, on account of alleged error in doctrine; a statement of facts, with documents; together with remarks and criticisms.* By REV. THOMAS NICHOLAS, Professor of Biblical Literature, and Mental and Moral Science, in the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen. 8vo. 1860.

ABOUT four years ago, a new edition of Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures was published, the second volume of which was the work of the Rev. Professor Davidson, purporting to be, not a revised edition of the old, but altogether a new treatise on the text of the Old Testament and Biblical interpretation. This volume, owing to the breadth of its criticism and candour of its deductions, almost immediately on its appearance, roused a storm of indignation and alarm in that section of Church and Dissenters appropriating to itself the epithet 'Evangelical.' The religious newspapers, so called, *lucus a non lucendo*, with their usual unprincipled ferocity and popish assumption, branded the author as heterodox, not only on the question of inspiration, but on the doctrines of the Trinity and justification by faith also; and at once consigned the book to

their *index expurgatorius*. The heavenly Cerberi who keep watch at the temple of orthodoxy barked furiously, and hounded off the Professor and his learning as Germanistic and dangerous ; and to the disgrace of a denomination which has stood high in history for intelligence, learning, and freedom from intolerance, a party actuated by personal animosity and jealousy of feeling, rather than by the love of truth, ejected him from his professorship. A demand was made for another edition, not to supplant the offensive and outlawed work, but to please the taste of the Low Church or evangelical party, with which the publisher has thought it politic to comply ; and the result is the appearance of the book above named, under the editorship of the Rev. John Ayre.

This volume then appears as the declaration of the Evangelical school upon the important subjects of Biblical inquiry : it has been compiled at their request, and to meet their views. The circumstance will at once stamp it in the opinion of many as inferior to the work it is intended to rival. If the aim of a book is avowedly—not truth pure and simple—but truth according to preconceived and adopted theories, it can never become a trustworthy guide for the student. The editor's task in this case has been to re-arrange and condense an old work, making additions of his own, and maintaining a fixed key in the tone of his criticism—a pre-established theory to which that criticism must submit, and with which it must be squared. This is a very difficult part for an honest man and a scholar to fulfil. Thoroughly to acquaint himself with the arguments and conclusions of the most advanced and most competent critics ; to give due weight to the astounding facts of modern discovery in the departments of geology, philology, and chronology ; candidly to face the discrepancies and contradictions which a more minute and closer study of the Scriptures, and a higher scholarship, have elicited ; and withal to arrive at the same conclusions and adopt the same views which were held previously to these accessions to our knowledge, the result of premises now found to be narrow and erroneous—this truly is a herculean labour.

The great George Stephenson used to say, that he had acquired the faculty of stripping the word impossible of its first syllable ; but it needs a cleverer engineer, a more skilful 'navigator' in the department of criticism than even Stephenson was in his, to level hills of difficulties, to pierce through stubborn rocks of fact, to harmonize modern discoveries with ancient forms of speech, and to carry the self-satisfied Evangelicals in easy and somnolent security across the mountainous country of Biblical criticism. The book before us witnesses the difficulty of the task. The editor continually finds himself going too far, allowing too much ;

and he retracts or makes some excusing or palliating remark, interjecting a few commonplaces of orthodox phraseology as a makeweight. Difficulties loom in the distance, and leave on the mind an impression of uneasiness and dissatisfaction, though they are immediately clouded over by vague misty words of Evangelical sentiment. Arguments are given and considerations stated which are allowed to be of very great weight, and which are not answered; yet the editor avows his belief in the conclusion opposite to that to which they lead. To such an extent is this observable, that in reading it, the comparison occurred to us again and again, of his book to the dish called Irish stew, which consists of fragments of meat hidden in a large quantity of potato. In Mr. Horne's matter, which constitutes the bulk of the book, we have the plain food, not very nourishing though not unwholesome; and in the extracts given by the editor from modern and enlightened critics, we have the strong meat, in small proportion it is true, and fragmentary, carefully marked off in brackets, yet too strong for orthodox stomachs to digest, and therefore, to make it palatable, well seasoned with the known phraseology of the school for whom the dish is intended.

Mr. Ayre deserves credit for having made himself acquainted with the literature of the subject in Germany as well as England, and for giving in good faith, for the most part, the arguments of those to whom he is opposed. But he has not been able to conceal the fact that his increased knowledge has altered in some measure his previous opinions, which yet he has not the courage to surrender. His book therefore is very inconsistent, part with part, and not unfrequently it is self-contradictory. The force of truth has been too much for his pre-adopted theory, and he seems to be in an uncomfortable transition state of judgment.

He evidently wishes to identify himself with the Low Church party, a large class of whom, on account of their newspaper, so notorious for its rancour and invective, has been designated "*Recordite*," a name not to be understood as meaning anything approaching *recondite*. It may be said, by the way, that instead of the old and well-known appellations, High, Broad, and Low Church, the epithets *Attitudinarian*, *Latitudinarian* and *Platitudinarian*, would perhaps be more expressive to designate the religious parties of our day. With the last of these we have now to do. The Recordites or Platitudinarians, take for the corner-stone of their creed Bible infallibility; maintaining it on the ground that if we introduce the slightest uncertainty into Scripture we are left without any guide; and contenting themselves with the repetition of "orthodox" commonplaces and bitter anathemas against the "unsound." Mr. Ayre evidently desires to make his

conclusions square with the tenets of his party ; but his increased knowledge and his facts are continually in his way. The consequence is a strange inconsistency and self-contradiction in his book, which the following passages are an example of :—

Mr. Ayre Recordite :—

“Our Lord was constantly correcting their [the apostles’] erroneous views of his kingdom : it is reasonable then to suppose that if their belief in Biblical infallibility were ‘superstitious,’ our Lord would have corrected that too. If the disciples held this belief, it need not surprise us to find that it prevailed generally among those who succeeded them. Dr. Lee calls attention to the singular uniformity which has prevailed upon the question of inspiration in every age.”

“It is readily admitted that *real* contradictions are a just and sufficient proof that a book is not divinely inspired, whatever pretences it may make to such inspiration.”

“For my own part, let me say that, after long and carefully weighing the arguments of those who think differently, after anxiously comparing scripture with scripture, and using the helps available to me for understanding it, my deliberate conviction is that the sacred writers were preserved from inaccuracy even in the lower domain of history, science, &c. ; since most of the apparent objections are capable of a reasonable solution ; and it would be rash positively to declare that the rest are inexplicable.” (p. 306.)

Mr. Ayre enlightened—

“It is true that Christ’s mission was not to set limits to critical investigation ; and some modes of speaking we might fairly suppose him to leave as he found them. It becomes us also to use the greatest reverence in asserting what Christ would or would not do : his ways are higher than our ways, his thoughts than our thoughts ; so that we must not presume to measure the doings of the Holy One by our fallible judgment.” (p. 547.)

“It is indisputable that the Bible, *as we have it*, is not wholly free from error. We have it only in imperfect translations, or if we take the originals, in an uncertain text. No one now questions the fact that transcribers have erred, that interpreters have made mistakes. Unless there were a perpetual miracle, affecting every copyist, and every printer, and every translator, we must acknowledge that we have not the book *exactly* as it proceeded from the authors ; if altogether perfect then, it has come down to us somewhat tarnished with the rust of ages, soiled by the human hands which have carried it along.”

“The fear then of impairing the certainty of faith by allowing that inspiration does not necessarily suppose infallibility may be carried too far.” (p. 300.)

“The morality as well as the spiritual teaching of revelation had its gradual development.” (p. 427.)

Notwithstanding these contradictory statements, instances of which might be multiplied, it is evident that Mr. Ayre adopts the dynamical theory of inspiration, of which Dr. Lee is the ablest exponent. This theory insists upon that distinction between Revelation and Inspiration, which applies the one name to direct communications of God to man, as contained in the scriptures; and the other to that actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, under which all parts of the Bible have been committed to writing, whether they contain an account of ordinary historical facts, or the narrative of supernatural revelations. Dr. Lee justly remarks:—

"It should never be forgotten that the real question with which our inquiry is concerned, is the result of the Divine influence, as presented to us in the Holy Scriptures, *not* the manner according to which it has pleased God that this result should be attained."

And he goes on to say, as the verdict of the school he represents:—

"Moses unquestionably received more abundant tokens of the divine favour than Ezra, or Nehemiah, or the author of the books of Chronicles; but this does not render that element of the Bible, in composing which Moses was the agent, one whit more true or more accurate in its details, than the writings of the others." (Lect. 1. p. 28).

Here, then, is the doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible, a doctrine which, according to Mr. Ayre and his school, the apostles held and Christ sanctioned; which from the earliest times the Church has adopted, and which the plenary as well as the verbal inspirationists still maintain. Our object now shall be to prove the utter untenableness of this theory, from facts deducible from the volume before us.

The question of Bible infallibility is one of fact, not of theory, to be answered by careful induction from the records themselves, not by *a priori* reasonings. We are not called on to theorize as to what ought to be or might be expected to be, but as to what actually is—a fallible or an infallible record. Yet at the outset we are met by presuppositions and opinions. "When we bear in mind," argues Lee,

"That so many astonishing miracles have been performed to convey this revelation to man, and to bring to pass the system of things which it announces, we feel instinctively inclined to presuppose that God cannot have withheld the far less striking miracle of providing against error in the documents which preserve it. If we had never heard of the difficulties which have been urged against Inspiration—if we had never opened the scriptures themselves—could the suspicion

have ever occurred to any fair mind, that God may thus have left to all the chances of human fallibility the history of that revelation which he has given to his creatures ?”

Such arguments as these are altogether beside the mark ; for the question is not as to what God might or ought to do, but what he has done. Moreover, there is great impropriety involved in these presumptions, as has frequently enough been shown ; and it is marvellous that men who know and venerate Bishop Butler's works, should indulge in reasonings which he so continually forbids. Much has been said and written of the Baconian method and its influence in regenerating philosophical inquiry. Men were the slaves of a debasing intellectual superstition, until this great reformer dethroned the idols which occupied and defiled the sanctuary of reason. The inductive method revived and regenerated the sciences ; but it has not been adopted as it should in the ranges of theology. In this department we still find men as Bacon described them,

“ Pushing forward theories and systems, but despising particulars, and employing examples only as lictors or officers to keep off the crowd in order to open up a way for their own views.”

The *idola tribûs*, *idola speciûs*, *idola fori*, idols imposed upon the understanding by the tendencies of human nature, by individual bent and training, and by “ the deceptions and incantations of words,” are still the objects of worship, and the tyrannizers of reason. How appropriate still is the example given in the “ *De Argumentis*” of the *idola tribûs* :—

“ The nature of the human mind is more wrought upon by affirmative than negative instances, though justly and fairly it ought to show itself impartial to both. This is the root of all superstition and silly credulity. He therefore wisely replied, who, on being pointed out in a temple a painting of those who had discharged their vows, for having escaped the dangers of shipwreck, and was pressed with the question if he did not recognize Neptune's divine power, retorted by asking, But where is the painting of those who perished after making their vows ?”

Bacon's illustration is still applicable to the departments of theological inquiry ; and we need in our day the “ *lumen siccum*” of Heraclitus, the dry clear light of intellect purified from the moisture and mists of passion and prejudice ; and that “ *judicii suspensio*” which will enable us to examine all things and hold fast that which is good.

Adopting, then, the inductive method, let us treat the subject as one of fact, not of theory. Have we an infallible or only a fallible Bible ? Measured by the facts which are recognised in, or evident from the book before us—which itself by no means goes

the full length of 'fair criticism of the Biblical text—judged by the facts which the plenary inspirationists themselves allow, will the theory of scripture infallibility stand?

It is a fact that there is not extant a single original of any of the Old or New Testament writings: the individual *αὐτόγραφα* of the inspired writers are utterly perished and lost out of the world. We possess copies only, made by men who had no claims to infallibility, copies not agreeing together, but in several places at variance; so that it is now impossible to pronounce with certainty what is the original and correct text of any book. An editor by critical comparison of extant manuscripts, may present to us what approaches in his judgment nearest to the writer's words, he may punctuate the manuscript thus revised, insert accents, parentheses, notes of interrogation, all which much affect the sense; but when this has been done, who will venture to pronounce that we have a correct work, a text precisely in harmony with the author's writing, much less infallible?

It may be objected that this fact is of weight only against the mechanical or verbal inspiration theory. But it is plain that if the Divine Spirit prevented the authors of our Scriptures from falling into any error, while using their own words in their own style, those words of theirs must be miraculously preserved to us that we may possess the ideas and truths they embody free from error. The following is the testimony of the volume before us as to the actual state of the Old Testament record:—

"Various readings have arisen both from negligence and from design—not always in the latter case with an intention of depraving the text, but much more frequently with the well-meaning purpose of improving it. Mistakes have sometimes been caused, when the copyist has had the MS. before him, by visual imperfection. Many of the Hebrew letters nearly resemble each other, and hence they have been interchanged. Similar changes are found in Greek MSS. When the MS. was dictated to a copyist mistakes might arise from imperfect hearing. If the copyist did not carefully keep his eye upon his exemplar, mistakes might occur through defect of memory; and thus words or clauses might be transposed or omitted, or synonymes might be substituted; or the expressions of parallel passages be introduced." (p. 99.)

It is well known with what obstinacy the great Puritan divine, Dr. Owen, maintained the antiquity and inspiration of the Hebrew punctuation. He accumulated testimonies of Hebrew scholars to the effect that without the points no certain truth could be learned from the Hebrew Scriptures: that "he who reads scripture without points is like a man that rides a horse *ἀχάλιτος*, without a bridle; he may be carried he knows not whither."

"I cannot but tremble to think," says Owen, "what [would be the issue of this supposition, that the points or vowels, and accents, are no better guides unto us than may be expected from those who are pretended to be their authors. The Lord, I hope, will safe guard his own from the poison of such attempts. To suppose that the true and exact pronunciation of every tittle, letter, and syllable, was preserved alive by oral tradition, not written anywhere, not commonly spoken by any, is to build towns and castles of imaginations, which may as easily be cast down as they are erected. Yet unless this is supposed, it must be granted that the great rule of all present translations that have been made in the Church of God for some hundreds of years, is the arbitrary invention of some few Jews living in an obscure corner of the world, under the curse of God, in their unbelief and blindness!"

What Owen thus indignantly denies as a fatal theory, is now a universally acknowledged fact :—

"When the Hebrew ceased to be a living language," says Ayre, "it was of course most difficult to retain the pronunciation without expressed vowels. We shall not greatly err if we suppose that the system of vowel signs was developed between the sixth and tenth centuries."

What would Owen say to a statement like this from an advocate of an infallible Bible? He was wrong as to the fact, but he was right in the argument; if the points be not inspired, infallibility of the inspired text must be surrendered.

The second fact which opposes itself to the infallibility theory, is that the majority of quotations in the New Testament vary from the Old Testament text. The advocates of plenary inspiration attach great importance to the manner in which these quotations are made; the phrases *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*, "that it might be fulfilled," *καθὼς γέγραπται*, "as it is written," *Θεὸς εἶπεν*, or *λέγει ἡ γραφή*, "God said," or "the Scripture saith," as indicating their veneration for the Old Testament text, and the importance they attached to it as the word of God.

But when we compare the passages quoted, with the Hebrew text, the original as it has come down to us, we find that the majority of them disagree with it in words, and several in the sense also. About one-third of these citations are made not from the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint translation, adhering to it when it varies in sense from the Hebrew; the writer in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, grounding his argument or placing his reason for citing, on the words and expressions of the LXX, even where no corresponding terms are found in the Hebrew text.

The question therefore arises, are we to take the original Hebrew, or the Septuagint version as the infallible text?

The inspired writer of the Old Testament text could not have been the author of both. If the Septuagint translation be the correct version of his ideas, then our Hebrew text in the cases in question is erroneous; if our received text be genuine, then the Septuagint is faulty; though withal it be adopted by the New Testament writer. The argument based upon introductory phrases "it is written," &c., proves too much; if we may never say the New Testament writers quote from memory or accommodate Scripture, then it must follow either that we have not a correct Hebrew text, or that the Septuagint translators were inspired. Take, for instance, the quotation in Hebrews x. 5—7, where the author quoting Psalm xl. 7—9, adheres to the LXX, "*a body hast thou prepared me,*" and not to the Hebrew, "*mine ears hast thou opened.*" The attempted explanation that the LXX is an appropriate paraphrase of the Hebrew is untenable; and even Dean Alford leaves the difficulty an unsolved one, not being satisfied with the supposition of a misreading in the LXX version, and having no other view to propound. But this quotation, in common with the rest, is introduced in the words διὸ λέγει, and if the argument of the plenary inspirationists holds good, it obliges them to recognise the divine authority of the LXX. Yet Dr. Lee describes it "a translation which, although of great value, is not inspired;" and the author of *Cautions for the Times* holds up the Tractarians to ridicule, because "they speak of the LXX as inspired, and suggest that those who made it were supernaturally directed in some cases to give *wrong* translations of the Hebrew, so that even in those places where their versions swerved from the Hebrew verity there was a special providential design in such variation." The opinion here referred to, the naming of which was supposed enough to secure its rejection, is, notwithstanding, the only legitimate one for those who hold the doctrine of plenary inspiration.

But a yet more important fact in relation to these quotations is, that some of them vary both from the Hebrew and the LXX.

"The authors," says Mr. Ayre, "never intend to bind themselves to a verbal transcribing of the passages they cite. Sometimes they introduce into one quotation words taken from another part of Scripture, occasionally combining several passages into one paragraph. Again, they abridge, they add, they transpose words or phrases, making a variety of changes according both to the character of the persons addressed, and to the different objects which they themselves had in view."

This language implies what indeed is the fact, that the sense of the original is occasionally altered. St. Paul, in Eph. iv. 8, [Vol. LXXV. No. CXLVII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XIX. No. I. H

citing Psalm lxxviii. 19, makes a "remarkable alteration" in the last clause. He changes the Hebrew and LXX, "*received gifts for men,*" into "*gave gifts unto men;*" and the cardinal word is obviously the one which he alters. "Unto every one of us the grace which he has is bestowed according to the measure of the gift of Christ." These gifts are conferred by Christ, and he pauses to add the weighty confirmation of Scripture—"When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and *gave gifts unto men.*"

"The difference," observes Ellicott, "in St. Paul's citation is palpable; and, we are bound in candour to say, does not appear diminished by any of the proposed reconciliations."

But there is yet a third fact in connexion with this branch of the subject, which must at least be named: there are no fewer than four citations from the Old Testament in the New, of passages which nowhere occur in the Hebrew or LXX, and which are withal introduced with the solemn formulas, "That it might be fulfilled," "It is written," "The Holy Ghost saith." Space will only allow the mention of these, Matthew ii. 23, Acts vii. 16, Eph. v. 14, and James iv. 5. In the list of quotations revised by Mr. Ayre, these passages have no parallel given to them in the Hebrew or Greek, but only a number of references to places which may have been in the citer's mind at the time. But if the Holy Spirit's influence was such as to guard the Apostles from any, the least mistake or error, if it cannot therefore be allowed that they quoted from memory or accommodated Scripture, how are these cases to be explained?

"Though the words '*he shall be called a Nazarene,*' says Ayre, are not to be found in the writings of the Prophets, yet as the thing intended by them is of frequent occurrence, the application is made with sufficient propriety."

And he argues that as Nazareth was a despised town, and Isaiah prophesies that the Messiah should be despised, "he has in reality predicted that he should be called a Nazarene." It requires but a little thought and candour to see the fallacy of this. The Evangelist does not intend to indicate the fulfilment of the prophecies that the Messiah should be despised; but the fulfilment of that spoken by the prophets, "he shall be called a Nazarene in the coming and dwelling of the Holy Family at Nazareth." "He came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, he shall be called a Nazarene." We have here, then, and in the other places, as might severally be shown, passages purporting to be quotations from Scripture, yet nowhere to be found in the Old Testament. The dilemma is obvious—either the New Testament writers were

mistaken in their citations, or we possess an imperfect Hebrew Bible—on either supposition the theory of infallibility must be surrendered. The induction from all these particulars of scriptural quotation is very strong. The evidence is cumulative, and carries all the more weight with it on account of the stress laid upon the formulæ which the New Testament writers use. Dr. Lee therefore grants that it is an *experimentum crucis* of every theory of inspiration; and affirms the doctrine that the Apostles in their quotations from the LXX missed the sense of the original, if capable of proof, obviously fatal to the view of inspiration, which he endeavours to maintain; according to which "each and every portion of the Bible is perfect and divine." The table of quotations in the volume before us proves this doctrine to be fact.

The third fact to which we shall refer as militating against Bible infallibility is, that there are in the record many discrepancies and contradictions in accounts of various transactions, in historical details, in names, in genealogies, in numbers, in science. One has only carefully to read through the chapter in the volume before us upon the alleged contradictions in the Old Testament, solely Mr. Ayre's contribution, reading the several passages referred to side by side, to be convinced of the inadequacy, and even meanness, of the subterfuges and conjectures resorted to. Better far, he will say, leave the Bible as it is, an honest record with all its discrepancies; let contradictions stand, and be not ashamed of them; they are the mistakes of fallible men, not God's: better far do this than have recourse to such wretched casuistry and subtilizing sophistry and flimsy farfetched conjectures, for the sake of patching and propping up a theory.

"When God says by my name Jehovah was I not known to them; he did not mean that they were ignorant of the appellation Jehovah! 'The word *all* in the verse referred to is used in a popular way;' here a round number is used: there is most probably an error in Kings, the number should be as in Chronicles. More stress has been laid on the variation than was just; the discrepancies are sufficiently puzzling, but they are only in the detailed numbers. In all histories persons are said to do what they do through the instrumentality of others; the evangelists are not to be taken as always relating occurrences according to their precise chronological sequence; it may be that vv. 9—20, are not from the pen of the Evangelist: *his* credit therefore is not involved in the statement: differences in numbers we have sufficiently seen are not uncommon, and it is often difficult to reconcile them. But because we have not now the requisite knowledge we may not conclude that they are irreconcilable."

It is thus that Mr. Ayre limps on from one difficulty to another; now catching at this straw, now at that subtlety; now

granting an error in number, and again a mistake in transcription; sometimes altering one place to suit another, which is a concession of error and an assumption of infallible knowledge to pronounce either right; and sometimes plaintively appealing to the practices of historians generally, and the allowances made for them: forgetting that the assumption to be proved is what is not claimed for other historians—infallibility. Grant that the books of Kings, Chronicles, &c., are but as other histories of honest, trustworthy, yet fallible men, and mistakes affect them not; but assume that they were so inspired of the Holy Ghost as to guard them from all mistake and error, and to establish your assumption you must prove that there is not a single error or mistake in their writings. After a miserably lame attempt to harmonize the differences between St. John and the other Evangelists about the feast of the passover at our Lord's crucifixion, Mr. Ayre quotes Dr. Chalmers as an apology for his conjectures. "A mere conjecture may be of no force in the upholding of any position, and yet be all-powerful in neutralizing the objection to it of adversaries." Yes, we reply, when you have established your position, conjectures suffice to neutralize after objections. But your work now is not to defend a doctrine already established, but to prove a gratuitous assumption; and Dr. Chalmers' statement is your condemnation, not your sanction. "Conjectures are of no force in upholding any position; when their object is demonstrative, they are idle speculations." The same illogical blunder is fallen into by Dr. Lee;* the fallacy of attributing objections to the proofs which do in reality lie against the thing to be proved. The *onus probandi* rests with the asserter of infallibility; he is called upon to demonstrate that every discrepancy is apparent only, not real: that there are no actual contradictions. This he cannot do: the attempts made prove the futility of the effort, and as Dean Alford says—"Christianity never was, and never can be, the gainer by any concealment, warping, or avoidance of plain truth wherever it is to be found."

The following is the manly confession of Dr. Kalisch, upon a discrepancy which the editor of Horne professes to dispose of in half a dozen lines. He can quote this learned critic when it suits his purpose; but he seems sadly ignorant of his views. On Genesis vii. 1—10, Dr. Kalisch says—

"The text not only repeats in the first ten verses several of the statements already distinctly made, but what is more important, it is in one point irreconcilable with the preceding narrative. All attempts at arguing away this discrepancy have been utterly unsuccessful. Who can declare these two conflicting statements to be identical? or regard

* Lect. viii. p. 384.

the one [as Mr. Ayre, Recordite, does] simply as a detailed explanation of the other? or consider a reconciliation possible? We appeal to every unbiassed understanding. The Bible cannot be abused to defy common sense, to foster sophistry and perverse reasoning, to cloud the intellect, or to poison the heart with the rank weeds of insincerity; nothing but the despair of perplexity could lead men to declare, with an affected humility, that the exposition of the books written for man is beyond the reach of the human intellect. We do not hesitate to acknowledge here the manifest contradiction, as we have avowed it in the history of the creation. And we explain it here on the same unobjectionable principle which we have found efficient in the former instance. The author of the Pentateuch, or the Jehovist, used, among other materials, especially an old and venerable document, or that of the Elohist, and he based his immortal work upon it; but he enlarged it, wherever he believed that the context required an amplification, and he inserted facts and reflections derived from his own experience and wisdom."—(KALISCH on *Genesis*, p. 183.)

It would be impossible now to enter into the examination of the discrepancies and contradictions in the Old and New Testaments—their name is legion; in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; in the Gospels, the book of the Acts, and the Epistles; as to the creation, the flood, the tower of Babel; the lives and genealogies of Abraham, and Jacob, and Moses; the journeys of the Israelites, their wars, their judges, their kings; the genealogies of Matthew and Luke; Peter's denial; the miracle of the blind men at Jericho; the hour of the crucifixion, and the appearances after the resurrection. These difficulties are by the ablest critics pronounced, for the most part, insolvable. Taking, then, the standard of Dr. Lee himself—"If we fully and entirely believe in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, to assert that its statements do not harmonize is a contradiction in terms." It is fact that the statements of Scripture do not harmonize; to believe, then, fully and entirely in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, is a contradiction in terms.

The fact of the utter irreconcilableness of Scripture with science is also conclusive against the Biblical infallibility.

Were it not for the serious harm done to religion by fostering a spirit of mockery and scorn, we might well be amused at the marvellous prescience of modern discoveries and inventions attributed by the platitudinarians to the Old Testament authors. When the prophet spoke of "swift beasts," he meant steam-engines, and of "bulrushes" he was thinking of steam-ships. It is only what might be expected when we find the editor of Horne in like manner giving Moses, Joshua, and Job credit for a strange insight into the then unknown secrets of Nature. "The stars," he says, "are described as innumerable in *Genesis* xv. 5; and yet the early catalogues of astronomers reckon few more than

a thousand ; nor were men able, till the invention of the telescope, to form any idea of the countless multitudes of the starry hosts." Has "the present writer," as he designates himself ever read Homer, or does he not remember the beautiful line—

Ἐν δὲ τὰ τέρψα πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται.

II. Σ. 485.

Or does he fancy that men in the time of Moses had no eyes? We don't need the telescope to tell us of countless stars. "Again," he proceeds, "we find the earth poised in space (Job xxvi. 7), a truth hardly within ancient knowledge." But according to another Scripture statement it rests on foundations or pillars, so that it never moves ; and in the same book of Job we have its "foundations" and "its corner stone" spoken of. Moreover, two heathen poets, Ovid* and Lucretius (ii. 602), have a like insight to that of Job. But our expositor proceeds :—"The address of Joshua to the sun and moon is remarkable. The moon's light was not needed if the sun was to continue above the horizon, and we can hardly suppose it generally known in that age, that when the sun's apparent motion ceased, the moon also could not quit her place." But from another part of the volume we find Mr. Ayre aware of the fact that this address of Joshua to the sun and moon is a poetical quotation from the book of Jasher, to which work, therefore, the credit of this extraordinary prescience belongs. We may add, by the way, what no doubt will shock his friends, that Mr. Ayre admits there is weight in the arguments urged against the miracle of Joshua stopping the sun, and he will not charge the advocates of such views with sceptical tendencies. Take care, Mr. Ayre, you are going too far, even though you have the orthodox Keil on your side ; your views are "dangerous." Would it not be wiser to hold with the Rabbi, who on being tested as to his orthodoxy on this matter, replied, "Joshua stopped the sun ; and it has stood still ever since."

But Mr. Ayre had not yet departed from the Recordite key when he wrote that if the two records, the Mosaic and Geological, were really in contradiction, the defender of plenary inspiration would doubtless be in serious difficulty ; when we examine the early chapters of Genesis, we cannot find that there is any such contradiction ! Now we should like to ask this gentleman whether he had carefully read Kalisch's work, which is without doubt the ablest, as it is the most recent, upon the book of Genesis. He quotes it more than once, but always as his supporter, even when he is endeavouring to reconcile chapters i. and ii. in Genesis, and is arguing against the Elohist and Jehovish theory. Any one

* Fasti vi. 271—6.

who did not know Kalisch's sentiments would infer that he was opposed to this theory, and belonged to the school of Mr. Ayre. But it is not so. Kalisch differs from him *in toto*, and does not hesitate to castigate in the strongest terms such modes of argument as his. What, let us ask, is the verdict of this critic, quoted and esteemed even by Mr. Ayre, upon the questions of reconciliation between geology and Genesis, and of the use of written documents by the author of Genesis? After an elaborate *résumé* of the well attested discoveries of astronomy and of geology, as well as of the various attempts and plans of harmonizing the Mosaic narrative with those discoveries, Kalisch says:—

"We believe we have indisputably demonstrated, both by positive and negative proofs, that, with regard to astronomy and geology, the Biblical records are, in many essential points, utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the established results of modern researches. We must acquiesce in the conviction that at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, the natural sciences were still in their infancy, and that the Hebrews were in those branches not materially in advance of the other ancient nations."—p. 52.

This language is decisive, and it is the result and conclusion of a fair and able criticism. How "the present writer" in Horne ignored it we cannot explain. It appears, too, that upon the discrepancies between Genesis i. and ii. Kalisch is equally plain. "Another cosmogony is introduced, which, to complete the perplexity, is, in many important features, in direct contradiction with the first;" and he explains the matter by telling us that "the author of the Pentateuch added to an ancient document on the creation the history of man's disobedience and its consequences." Once more, upon the difficulty of a universal deluge, he thus sums up the argument:—

"Geology teaches the impossibility of a universal deluge since the last 6000 years, but does not exclude a partial destruction of the earth's surface within that period. The Biblical text, on the other hand, demands the supposition of a universal deluge, and absolutely excludes a partial flood. How is this difficulty to be reconciled? The only solution possible is by consistently carrying out the principle of Biblical interpretation which has hitherto guided us. . . . The Old Testament does not show the ancient Hebrews as superior to their contemporaries in secular knowledge. . . . The Biblical narrative is based upon a historical fact; but this fact was, in the course of time, amplified and adorned, till it was, in the period of the author of the Pentateuch, generally augmented into a universal flood."

Generally *sound* in the Recordite sense as Mr. Ayre is in this volume, and especially on the matter of scientific discovery in its relation to Scripture, he makes some strange admis-

sions which we must not pass by. If, for instance, any portion of the Old Testament can lay claim to verbal and plenary inspiration, and therefore to infallibility, it is the Decalogue written by the finger of God on the two tables of stone. But the Fourth Commandment, as recorded in Exodus, differs seriously from the version of it in Deuteronomy. Which of the two is the inspired text? According to Mr. Ayre the latter part of the Fourth Commandment is only the enforcement of the precept, added by Moses, who in one place urges the observance of the Sabbath by a motive taken from the Creation; in the latter, by another derived from the deliverance from bondage in Egypt!

Another commonplace *experimentum crucis* of orthodoxy, is the story of Balaam and his ass. What anxious solicitude and righteous indignation must it not excite among the "Platitudinarians" to hear from their champion the wicked confession. "It is not so clear whether the speaking of the ass was a literal fact or whether it occurred in vision. The testimony of St. Peter would appear decisive; but then there are grave doubts whether the second epistle ascribed to St. Peter be genuine." Stay your invectives, Christian censors; do not at once excommunicate the offender. True, he gives the arguments which support the heresy, and does not attempt to answer them; but he immediately reclaims his character for "soundness" by the declaration;—"the present writer believes that the supernatural event literally occurred."

Another criterion of evangelicalism is the spiritual meaning of Solomon's Song. Yet Mr. Ayre allows it to be a matter of question whether it be a pious allegory or a literal love song. He gives the arguments against the spiritual interpretation, admits that there is great weight in them, and that "if it be considered proved that three principal persons are indicated, and that Solomon's love is rejected, the spiritual interpretation can hardly be maintained." But let us not suppose that Mr. Ayre adopts the contraband conclusion, though he disproves not the premisses. To do so, would be to grant that they who formed the canon, believed the allegory contrary to the purpose of the writer; and this would be to throw grave doubts on the authority of the canon. "Books were not received therein by any fancy of the men that collected them; but because they were inspired by God, because they had always been so acknowledged, and because the Church is 'a witness and keeper of holy writ,' not to decide of herself, but to express her acknowledgment of what God has decided. It is not likely that the purport of a book could have been mistaken." A parenthesis soon after informs us, consequently, that the reasons for an allegorical interpretation appear "to the present writer" the more weighty.

To mention but one instance more. It has been the received opinion that "the desire of all nations" (Haggai ii. 7) means the Messiah. Even Dean Trench adopted the phrase as the title of his Hulsean Lectures in 1846. But Mr. Ayre sanctions an interpretation of the passage which has hitherto been branded by his party as "heterodox." "It is more than doubtful," he tell us, "whether the phrase was intended to refer to Christ. The Vulgate translates *desideratus cunctis gentibus*; and hence the idea has become current. But the original will hardly bear it." He further paraphrases the text thus: "All shall be shaken or fear; but the choicest, the best, shall come to give honour to God."

Our last argument against the theory of Biblical infallibility furnished by the volume before us, is the fact of the doubtful authorship of the Old Testament books. The late Sir W. Hamilton, in his discussion with Archdeacon Hare on the subject of Luther's Biblical views, proposes the following inquiry:—"Is the opinion of Biblical books being a compilation by unknown collectors, and in part from unknown and uninspired authorities, an orthodox opinion; an opinion consistent with any admissible doctrine of revelation?" They who maintain plenary inspiration will at once reply in the negative. But what are we to say if that which Hamilton states as an opinion be fact? If the mountain cannot be brought to Mohammed, Mohammed must go to the mountain. If the Bible cannot be squared and harmonized with our theory, and its books proved to be not compilations, but the writings of known authors, our theories must be brought down to meet these stubborn facts.

The following is the verdict of the volume before us as to the authorship and compilation of the Old Testament books. For fairness' sake it is necessary to give its counter statements as to the PENTATEUCH side by side.

Mr. Ayre, Recordite:—

"Suppose it true that the Jews popularly attributed to Moses that which never flowed from Moses' pen, if others can believe that our Lord would have left them in such an error, nay, that he should have used language himself confirmatory of it, the present writer never can."
—p. 547.

Mr. Ayre, enlightened:—

"It is very possible that a student, after diligent research, may be persuaded that he sees traces of more than one hand in the Pentateuch. The question is confessedly intricate. And if the varied use of the divine name, and any perceptible difference of diction incline the mind to the conclusion that the most reasonable mode of accounting for the phenomena is to believe that previous documents were worked up into

the composition as we have it, the present writer is far from censuring such a conclusion."—p. 587.

JOSHUA.—"Some of the reasons, however, above produced, negative the belief that the book, in its present condition, was of that early date, or could have been altogether composed by Joshua himself. . . . We must at least believe that this book was written not later than the earlier years of David. And in that case the expressions which seem to proceed from an eye-witness formed part of some original document, inserted with little or no alteration by the subsequent compiler."—p. 612.

JUDGES.—"If, as seems to be the case, the appendix proceeds from a different hand than the former chapters, there is yet another question—did the appendix-writer edit the whole work, collecting the earlier portions from contemporaneous documents? The reply must be in the negative. Both authors may have used written documents, but there is no ground for supposing that the latter moulded his own and other materials into a whole."—p. 625.

RUTH.—"Of the authorship of this book nothing satisfactory can be said."—p. 629.

1ST AND 2ND SAMUEL.—"It is not easy to arrive at any certainty with respect to the age and authorship of these books. . . . " p. 632. "That some use was made of previously existing documents, none perhaps will deny."—p. 635.

1ST AND 2ND KINGS.—"The books of Kings evince a sufficient unity to show that they were composed by one and the same author. They are compiled from particular annals, but they are no mere compilation."—p. 641. "The sources from which the author mainly drew his materials are indicated by himself. At the close of Solomon's history he refers for fuller particulars to the *Book of the Acts of Solomon*; for every King of Judah, to the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*; and for every King of Israel, to the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*. . . . Besides the sources named, the writer had possibly some others for the histories of Elijah and Elisha."—pp. 643, 4.

1ST AND 2ND CHRONICLES.—"The sources to which the Chronicle writer refers are"—[A list of ten books referred to follows.] "It has been questioned whether the Chronicle writer had the canonical books of Kings before him. He can hardly be supposed ignorant of these books, though he appears to have worked out his narrative from his sources after his own method, and not as merely adding a supplement to the preceding writer."—p. 649.

EZRA.—"The probability seems to be that chaps. i—vi. were not from Ezra's pen; and there is an equal probability that the remainder, chaps. vii—x. was written by him. If, however (and the matter is a balance of probabilities), a different view is taken, it must be supposed that some final editor incorporated Ezra's own narrative, vii. 27—ix. 15, with other documents, connecting them into a continuous history."—p. 657.

NEHEMIAH.—"The probability is, that this section [Neh. i. 1—vii. 5], though not written by Nehemiah, was yet the work of a con-

temporary, and formed part of the materials from which the whole book was afterwards compiled."—p. 660.

ESTHER.—"That the book was composed by a resident in Persia may indeed be freely acknowledged, from the acquaintance evinced with Persian customs."—p. 663.

JOB.—"To one who devoutly believes that the book of Job was written by divine inspiration, it is but a subordinate question whether the history be the record of facts, or whether the form of parable or fictitious narrative have been chosen as the vehicle of momentous instruction."—p. 669. "We may consider the book of Job as a complete production flowing from a single pen; and then it is a point of difficulty to determine in what age it was composed, and who was the author. That there can be little certainty here is evident from the guesses which range over almost the whole period embraced by the Bible history."—p. 678.

PROVERBS.—"It is admitted that Solomon himself did not collect the book into its present form. It was probably formed by degrees; we should hardly else have found the proverbs which Hezekiah's men copied out, xxv. 1, &c., placed as an appendix. This seems to presuppose that there was a former compilation; which must have been made between the time of Solomon and that of Hezekiah, a period of somewhat more than 250 years."—p. 733.

ECCLESIASTES.—"It is not easy to decide upon the authorship; different minds will arrive at different conclusions. The reasons which have been given make Hengstenberg and Keil, as well as other critics, believe that the book is not from Solomon. If this be conceded, the same proof will show that the date of its composition must be placed not earlier than the exile."—p. 741.

SOLOMON'S SONG.—"It is readily admitted that, if the subject be proved to be the rejection of Solomon's love, he is not likely to have himself written the book. On this point, also, good and wise men will differ."—p. 759.

THE PROPHETS.—"It is not certain that the prophets always collected their own productions. This was, however, doubtless done under divine guidance."—p. 774.

We hail these admissions as tokens of the enlightenment of a party that hitherto has obstinately shut its eyes against knowledge and criticism, and persevered in repeating its shibboleths of an infallible Bible, and its anathemas against those who refuse to think with them. Truth never can be benefited by the props of ignorance or credulity. It challenges investigation, and scorns the mock fortifications which its timid defenders raise. Facts are stubborn things, and they force us to conclude that the Bible is the fallible record of what is received as a Divine Revelation. It is fact that we have not an infallible text, but many manuscripts and versions with various readings, and needing man's fallible judgment to decide, or rather to guess the most probably correct. It is fact that the formal phrase

"it is written," "thus saith the Holy Ghost," are used of quotations occasionally not to be found in the Old Testament, or varying in word and meaning from it, or agreeing only with a translation confessedly uninspired. It is fact that some of the records are compilations only from previously existing anonymous documents, for the inspiration of which there is not an iota of evidence or claim. It is fact that we are in total ignorance of the authors of several of the Old Testament books, of Joshua, and Judges, and Ruth, and 1st and 2nd Samuel, and 1st and 2nd Kings, and 1st and 2nd Chronicles, and Esther, and Job, and Proverbs, and probably Ecclesiastes, and Solomon's Song. With these facts staring them in the face, how, in the name of truth and honesty, can it still be said we possess a book divinely inspired in every part, and wholly free from error—an infallible Bible? In the name of honesty, truth, and righteousness we say,—let us hear no more of book infallibility. To overturn such a dogma is an act of justice and religion; for it is blasphemy to ascribe imperfection to God. Keeping up a falsehood like this degrades a man, lowers the standard of his intelligence, and warps his moral nature; it fosters insincerity; it tends to a cowardly habit of concealing and glossing over difficulties, a habit of pious fraud, of using words without meaning, or in a hypocritical way,—of lying for the glory of God. Crushing inquiry and doubt in their own minds, preachers of the low church party, both within and without the establishment, talk smoothly and with complaisance from the pulpit, the platform, or the magazine, fancying that their hearers are taking all as gospel; while the fact is the laity are weary of their platitudes, see through their insincerity, and entertain serious questionings and doubts as to Bible infallibility themselves. We knew the case of a clergyman of this school, being suddenly taken aback one day by one of his parishioners, a plain man, asking him how he reconciled the genealogies of Matthew and Luke? He had been quenching inquiry in his own mind, and carefully concealing his misgivings, and qualms of conscience in his instructions, under the delusion that his flock were in blissful ignorance and belief, and that it would be foolish to unsettle their minds. And so we believe it is with many. They are better than their professions; though they fear to throw off the mask and honestly avow their doubts. We allow there is excuse for this timidity. An organized system of persecution is at work; a kind of self-constituted Papacy watches with basilisk eye every movement indicating freedom of thought, and springs mercilessly upon the unfortunate victim, whoever he may be, that refuses to submit to its sway. No rest is given to him; his name is cast out as evil; his livelihood is stolen from him, he is henceforth a marked man;

and the section which appropriates to itself that strange *oxymoron*,—"the religious world," offers him its curses and its prayers. There is reason to believe, however, that this party is diminishing in numbers and influence, and that if men be courageous enough to despise its threats, and boldly to avow the principles which lie smothered in their heart of hearts, they will not want sympathy and friends among the masses of the people.

In the treatment Professor Davidson and his work received at the hands of the votaries of Bible infallibility and so-called "defenders of the faith," we have a melancholy instance of the wretched fallacies, the gross invective, the falsifying vituperation resorted to by the Recordite party to prop an untenable dogma. When such subterfuges are adopted, there is generally reason to suspect falsehood or hollowness; of which the circumstances narrated in the pamphlets before us afford a striking illustration. No sooner had Dr. Davidson's volume appeared, a work which an eminent German professor, Roediger of Halle, describes as presenting "a conservative and only too moderate a freedom of inquiry," than the attack was commenced by no other than his fellow-labourer in revising *Horne's Introduction*, Dr. Tregelles. A letter from him appeared in various newspapers, in the *Record* among others, reiterating "the received doctrine of the plenary authority of Scripture as inspired by the Holy Ghost," and protesting against the book and its author for "avowing and bringing into notice sentiments," the adoption of which was "*wholly unknown*" to himself and Mr. Horne. The incorrectness of this statement has been shown by the fact that *all the sheets of the entire work* had been forwarded, from the beginning to the end, to the co-editors, so that they knew, or had the opportunity of knowing, the contents of the book before its publication. The leader of this crusade thus began with the three-edged sword of a platitude, an untruth, and a protest. The "religious" newspapers followed in his train, adopting the same weapon, but wielding it with a rougher and more unscrupulous hand. The *Record*, well known for the judgment it pronounced on the death-bed of Arnold and Robertson, and for the recklessness of its statements concerning the character of other writers of their school, gave vent to the feelings of its supporters in misstatements and invectives almost unparalleled even in that quarter in modern times. Dr. Davidson was at once denounced as "an intrusive editor, a German Rationalist." "He has spoiled and turned into waste paper a large edition of one of the most valuable theological works of modern times." "Sound doctrine is to him distasteful, but all shades of heresy find favour in his eyes." "The volume is nothing more than a German Neologian or Rationalistic perversion of the Old Testament Scriptures in an English garb." "It

was not then imagined that Dr. Davidson was likely to charge error on any portion of the Word of God, or that he would have tried to disparage the commissioned writers of that Word." "A man like him had only to study at Halle, and having acquired the German language, return to Manchester with a trunk-load of Neologian nonsense." Such was the style of wholesale slander and vituperation indulged in by the *Record*; and other newspapers and magazines reviewed the book with similar unfairness; adopting, if not the falsification, the platitude and the protest loud and long in defence of the received dogma of infallibility. Many good people who probably would never have looked into the book but for the cry raised against it, were startled as they read it, by facts of Bible criticism new to them; and reckoned among the errors of the "Neologian" Professor, statements which they might have found made by Horne himself in former editions of the *Introduction*. The Board of the Dissenting Academy at Manchester, where Dr. Davidson held his professorship, took the alarm. They appointed five of their number to examine his book, and to ascertain the truth respecting the allegation of "unsoundness." As the result of this investigation, they passed a resolution expressing "continued confidence in the general soundness of Dr. Davidson's theological views," and "appreciation of the value of his services to the college;" requesting him at the same time to give explanations of certain doubtful parts of his recent work. The matter, however, was not to end here. One of the gentlemen, who afterwards stepped forward as the leader of the hostile party, was ill at ease; and though he seconded the vote of confidence, a few weeks afterwards proposed a resolution of *want of confidence*. At a subsequent meeting we are informed this resolution "was put, and carried by a majority of two!" The chairman who had never been known to vote since the Academy was opened, not only voted, but reserved his casting vote for the same purpose. The other vote which gained the majority of two against the Professor, was that of his colleague in office, the Theological tutor! —*ex officio* a member of Committee." (See Pamphlet by Mr. Nicholas, p. 21.) Two characteristic circumstances in connexion with this transaction are worthy of mention. The decision of the Board was, it appears, totally unsupported by the schedule of doctrine attached to the Academy Trust Deed itself, so that it was deemed politic to obtain *counsel's opinion* as to the power of the Board to depose the Professor *notwithstanding* the schedule; and an affirmative answer was received. We learn also from the pamphlets before us, that the resolution of want of confidence contained no specific charges, but was couched in vague terms of

indefinite import: and the demand of the Professor for the precise grounds on which its clauses were based was refused. This significant fact strikingly illustrates the weakness, meanness, and injustice of such self-styled "defenders of the faith." They have no real arguments; facts are against them; their position is logically untenable; and they have recourse to the affectation of super-eminent piety, to orthodox rant, to groundless surmisings, and arbitrary ostracism. In justice, however, to the *Independents*, it is fair to add that in the persecution of their Professor, only a section of malcontents sympathized. The resolution was carried, as we have seen already, by a majority of two only; the five gentlemen deputed to examine the obnoxious volume, declined to a man to vote against Dr. Davidson; the students tendered him a letter of sympathy; his ministerial friends who had been his former pupils rallied round him, and in presenting to him a tribute of their esteem, expressed their conviction of the good tendency of his teaching, and their regret at the uncharitable treatment he had received; and a still more substantial testimonial was given to him by the merchants and other gentlemen of Manchester and its neighbourhood, accompanied by an outspoken resolution, declaring "their decided dissent from the decision of the Committee, and their emphatic sympathy with Dr. Davidson, as to the painful misrepresentations, and the perverse and calumnious charges—many of them utterly groundless and false—from which he has suffered at the hands of persons belonging to a certain portion of the press."

It is gratifying thus to find a large proportion of the *Independents* repudiating the creed and conduct of the persecutors of their professor, and evincing the honesty and liberality which are the distinguishing marks of a truth-loving spirit. It is another token of the appropriateness of the threefold division of religious opinion (elaborated by the lamented Conybeare for the Established Church) to all sections of English Protestants. Wherever we look we may discover the High, the Low, and the Broad Church party. Dissenters have their Attitudinarians, who imitate in dress the well known M.B. waistcoat and clerical mien, who approve of forms, adopt ecclesiastical architecture, and make free use of the Book of Common Prayer. They have their more liberal, broad, and latitudinarian party, comprehending the modicum of learning and research found among them; who admire such men as Arnold, Hare, Maurice, and who are the authors of their unsectarian and more intelligent literature. And they have their Low Church party, very low indeed; their Platitudinarians, distinguished for their sanctimonious slang and violent rhodomontade, their ignorance and bluster, in the pulpit or the magazine,

in the newspaper or in Exeter Hall. They make up the deficiency of their learning by the force of *diatribe*, and the hopelessness of their position by the violence of abuse.

If we seek after the origin of the dogma combated in this paper, we shall probably find it in that longing after infallibility inherent in the thoughtless and illiterate mind, by which it may be saved the trouble of inquiry and the uneasiness of doubt. It was through the power of this feeling that the doctrine of Church infallibility gained, and sustained so long, a footing in the world. Luther nobly threw off that bondage, and asserted the right of private judgment; and in that assertion lay the germ of the variety and extremes of creed and no creed through Protestant Europe. But the craving for an infallible authority was as strong as ever; and no sooner was one infallibility destroyed than another began to be set up, until now it has assumed the form of idolatry of an infallible book.

The good old word *revelation* began to be supplanted by another, *inspiration*, and instead of the truth of God revealed in the Scriptures—a revelation conveyed through a fallible though trustworthy record—we now hear only of the record itself as divinely inspired in every part. The old dogma “the Church is infallible,” is supplanted by another equally untenable, “we have an infallible book.” The words of the great Dr. Arnold regarding Coleridge’s “Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit,” indicated a far-seeing mind, and have been strangely fulfilled—“They are well fitted,” he wrote, “to break ground in the approaches to that momentous question, which involves in it so great a shock to existing notions, the greatest probably that has ever been given since the discovery of the falsehood of the doctrine of the Pope’s infallibility.” As, when that dogma was cast away, the cry was raised—Whither will this tend? to what lengths may not private judgment go? where will you stop? so exactly is it now, when book infallibility is called in question. To allow that the Bible is fallible, in the least jot or tittle of it, is *dangerous*; for where will you draw the line between fallible and infallible? One man will object to this section, another to that—each will pick and choose what parts he will receive, and will reject what parts he dislikes: what barrier have you then against the inroads of the most hideous rationalism and barefaced scepticism? To all this the old answer must be given:—private judgment is not only a right but a necessity. Before a man can submit his judgment to any book, he must first judge what version of that book, what manuscript, what text is the genuine one; he must, secondly, judge that there is sufficient evidence to prove that the writer of that text was under the guidance of the Spirit of God, so as to preserve

him from error or mistake of every kind; and he must, thirdly, judge what is the right meaning and interpretation of the text thus divinely inspired. It is evident, therefore, that an infallible book is of no avail to check rationalism, unless you have also an infallible interpreter. Men holding the most opposite doctrines would be found appealing to the same infallible authority, and even to the same texts, for the support of them. Private judgment becomes the last resource even in judging the reality and the meaning of a Divine revelation. And from this truth arises the serious responsibility resting on each individual man, to keep a clear conscience, a rightly balanced intellect, and a pure heart; and to seek for inspiration from the Father of lights, in the pursuit of truth. If it be asked, then, what is our safeguard in the midst of fallible interpreters and with a fallible book? we reply, TRUTH, wherever God has lodged it, whether in the soul of man, in nature, or in the Bible; truth is our rock, indestructible and eternal. And the truths of Christianity are its facts: whether spoken or written, in this volume or in that: the facts of Christianity, we repeat it, are its foundation. You may reject the book, but you cannot deny the facts, or destroy a jot of the truth. "The truth as it is in Jesus" is not dependent upon any manuscript or collection of manuscripts; upon any one treatise in the Bible nor upon all together. It was in the world before the New Testament; and inexpressibly valuable as the New Testament is, as the record of its facts and early history, if all manuscripts and versions and Bibles and Testaments were by some strange catastrophe to be at once annihilated, the religion of Christ would survive the loss.

Astronomy may describe for us the size and distances and wondrous motions of our globe with its moon, and the planets with their satellites, extending thirteen millions of miles from the sun; it may fill us with awe by its revelation that our solar system in its vast dimensions is a mere point in the infinitude of space, and that the twinkling stars are the centres of systems like ours. Geology may read for us the autobiography of the earth, and take us back, in its tertiary strata only, a period of 100,000 years, and tell us of myriads of ages before that date, when animals and plants lived and grew upon our world. Ethnography and philology may compute for us the probable age of the human race thousands of years before the Adam of Genesis. We receive these stupendous facts and bid God speed to the labourers who work them out; we acknowledge without fear the errors of the Mosaic cosmogony and the narrow fancies and beliefs of the holy men who wrote the books of Scripture, and of the times in which they lived. We allow the mistakes they made in chronology and in

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historical details ; but at the same time we maintain that in their fallible writings God has treasured up for us infallible truth, the food of our souls and the glory of our being—truth lasting as the rocks and eternal as the heavens.

ART. V.—THE NEAPOLITAN AND ROMAN QUESTIONS.

L'Unité Nationale de l'Italie. Par EMANUELE MARLIANI.
Torino: Sebastiano Franco, 1860.

THE great Italian movement which set in with the year 1859, bids fair to provide posterity with matter for contemplation, as wonderful, as fanciful, as riveting as anything that can be found in the annals of mankind. Unless the end wofully belies the beginning, our grandchildren when told the stories of our times, are likely with the flushed yearning of youthful wonder to exclaim, "Would that we had lived in the glorious days of our forefathers !" Indeed, in sober truth, our times are so passing strange that reality seems to have made it a business to *mock* fancy. Two short years have passed, and deeds are fulfilled the possibility of which even the boldest ventured seriously to contemplate only in connexion with an indefinite term of time. Efforts which the most far-sighted and high-hearted put forth, with the sole hope of making good a step towards a far off-object, have, to their amazement, rebounded with an irresistible shock into its all but complete consummation. We no longer see our cotemporaries engaged in cautiously meditating how to achieve an advance towards making an Italy. Italy has fulfilled the term of gestation, and is in the act of stepping forth in the fulness of her natural proportions. In spite of all persistent predictions to the contrary, bit by bit, and piece by piece, province after province, and state after state, has deliberately hastened to bring its distinctive privileges as an offering to a common realm. Already has Sicily, with her supposed inveterate susceptibilities, spontaneously exchanged her historical title-deeds for the common charter ; already has Naples, with a court-fed society and inorganic population, hailed a political condition that must strip the kingdom of all particular position and immediate pomp. And now the Pope—that standing bugbear of all speculators on Italian freedom—at the contemplation of whose abnormal conformation even the wisest would sometimes turn away their faces with a despondent sensation—the Pope himself is now fairly undergoing

an operation which there is good reason to hope will happily reduce him to that condition which will constrain him to coalesce with the other fusing elements of the Peninsula. Venice alone is wanting to the absolute completion of Italian unity; but although its material conquest be still in the future, its moral one is already fully achieved. Truly the review of all this success is so dazzling, that its contemplation might inspire a superstitious dread lest this be a mocking gift, which a mischievous and capricious fate intends dashing to pieces just as the hand grasps finally to close upon it.

Like all great dramas, the action of this Italian one falls naturally into a series of divisions, indicated by moments when of themselves its action stopped short, to sound the pass they had arrived at, and gather breath for the next step. Such a moment was produced by the peace of Villafranca; another, occurred the day when the annexation of Central Italy became a fact, by the admission of its representatives within the Parliament assembled at Turin; and a third has come about at present when Italy, short of pining Venice, congregated under Victor Emmanuel, finds herself brought face to face with the Pope, shrunk within his Vatican and his City—with a few miles of waste land for all possessions. This is the situation of the hour; out of this point of suspense the next phase must proceed, whatever that may be. How has this come about, and what will be the end?

There is a school of politicians, especially numerous represented by foreign diplomatists and statesmen, which has a very explicit answer ready to these questions. The world and its government being in their theory a matter of mere machinery, without any impulse of its own, and depending for its action solely upon the more or less skill, or the more or less arbitrary force, with which it can be wound up at pleasure, these persons consider all that is happening in Italy as due to the cunning and wilful influence of one man. Formerly, this respectable set of dowager worthies used to clench their demonstrations of what constituted sound and conscientious winding-up, by impressively pointing to the one shuddering exception in civilized countries, presented in the conduct of an English statesman. But that was when the Evil one lay as yet in the primitive state of a monad. Conviction can no longer remain blind to the melancholy fact that he has now attained a very positive stage of duality. Lord Palmerston no longer enjoys in his person the monopoly of making up in his office insidious little doses of wickedness, whose poisonous matter he craftily disseminates through the peaceful glades of a quiet and well-principled world. The parent-stock of mischief has put forth a second head of yet more voracious and inordinate propensities in Count Cavour. He it is who has brought about

all the misfortunes in Italy. To his grasping, ambitious, and unscrupulous rapacity are alone due the revolutions that have overthrown the governments in the Peninsula. A wholesale system of instigation, treason, and bribery, according to the report of these observers, are the instruments to which this politician habitually has had recourse, and to which are solely due the events that have occurred. Of this radically malignant disposition of Count Cavour's nature, the indubitable confirmation lies, according to them, in his action towards the King of the Two Sicilies and the Pope. For what he did in the matter of Tuscany, the Duchies, and Romagna, they are sometimes disposed to affect an excuse, glad of an opportunity covertly to level a blow against the big offender on the French throne, who initiated the Italian war. But of the events which have deprived the King of the Two Sicilies of a throne, they declare Count Cavour to have been the deliberate instigator, bringing them about from afar by the underhand machinations of a conspirator and the low devices of a hypocritical plotter. We all appreciate fully the exact amount of truth in the elaborate revelations of Lord Palmerston's indefatigable enormities, consigned, for the instruction of posterity, in the pages of such painstaking publications as *Le Palmerston Dévoilé*, due to the pen of high-placed functionaries. The hearty laugh we get out of the fund of invention exhibited in the hoax fully compensates us for the half-crown it may have cost—without taking into account the use we certainly find for it in lighting the fire. Whether the diplomatic reports of current events which reach foreign Ministers of State affect them with the like reflection, we have not the means of knowing; but we strongly suspect that, on the score of imaginative fancy, they often are amply calculated to contribute to hilarity. It is pre-eminently due to Count Cavour's sagacity and immense self-possession that we may hope to see goodly fruit gathered from what might easily have degenerated into desultory and barren revolts. He had the presence of mind to lay hold of and direct to a purpose opportunities which otherwise must have rolled straight into the hands of mischief. For this he deserves general gratitude, as thereby he saved the young creation of an Italian State probably from destruction, certainly from much disturbance. But to represent him as having of his own choice sought this encounter, and deliberately fired the train in Sicily, at a moment when he was already distracted with duties and calls, shows a thorough misapprehension of the true state of the case. These statements, for truth, are on a level with the dogmatism of such orthodox astronomical catechisms as, in spite of Galileo, would affirm, in deference to a principle of authority, that the sun must move round the earth; or the instruction of the Legitimist preceptor, who doggedly taught his

pupil French history, with the suppression of Monsieur Bonaparte's trifling deeds. The truth is, that a few moments' calm survey of circumstances which are on the surface must suffice to prove that the Sicilian outbreak overtook Count Cavour, and at the time added considerably to the difficulties of his anxious position. It is his merit to have proved equal to this sudden emergency.

The Sicilian rising occurred in the beginning of April, coinciding with the opening, at Turin, of the first Parliament of the new kingdom. The weighty subjects for consideration necessarily incumbent on so grave a moment in the history of a state, happened to be enhanced by an unpleasant combination of irritating complications in both foreign and domestic relations. Of the former, the sole cause was centred in the treaty for the cession of Savoy and Nice. The publication of that treaty revived with aggravated intensity all the public considerations which had so grievously indisposed the cabinets of Europe against that of Turin at the beginning of hostilities, and just as a better understanding seemed to be ensuing, isolated afresh the latter for a while even more completely than had yet been the case. With the assent even of those who had hitherto countenanced his policy, Count Cavour became proscribed as an outlaw to good faith, and the relations of Piedmont towards foreign countries grew for the time thoroughly dark and uncertain. On news of the treaty, the growing sympathies of England for the young Italian State declined sensibly, while national susceptibilities impelled public opinion in Germany to gravitate towards Austria at the alarming sight of France overstepping her treaty boundaries. With France the relations, in spite of apparent alliance, were also extremely equivocal. The cession of Savoy and Nice had not been compensated for by any recognition, much less guarantee, on the part of his inscrutable neighbour to the king of Piedmont, of that extension of territory which had been made the official pretext for the extortion of these two provinces. At any moment the raw levies of the Italian army might be exposed to fight single-handed the veteran armaments of Austria, that menacingly bristled in heavy masses upon the Venetian frontier. Nowhere did the young Italian kingdom possess a friend upon whose, at least, full moral support it might trust in the event of being attacked by Austria. The anxiety of this painfully ambiguous position was enhanced to Count Cavour by the appearance of symptoms which, unless carefully attended to, might easily result in a dangerous agitation at home. With his office, Count Cavour had also inherited the consequences of Rattazzi's administration; and amongst the legacies thus bequeathed to him, was the strong dissatisfaction engendered in Lombardy at the unwise regulations arbitrarily decreed for it, by

this red-tape and dogmatical functionary. It is unnecessary to dwell on the details of this subject, which has been explained in the last number of this *Review*. Suffice it to say, that the Lombards came to Parliament in a state of great irritation at the grievances to which they were subjected. Now, although annoying, yet, in its strictly local aspect, this discontent would have had nothing formidable in it. Its direct remedy was an easy matter. But the Lombards are in many respects a touchy, intractable, and somewhat pretentious race; and their passions on this occasion were being worked upon by artful and specious demagogues. These last were nothing more than revived Mazzinians, who now styled themselves monarchical democrats, whatever that may be. These politicians are distinguished by an impatient and excessive *Italianism*, with perpetual denunciations of the acts of Government, inspired according to them by a narrow and exclusive Piedmontese feeling. Nothing could satisfy them except the immediate expulsion of the Austrians, and the immediate emancipation of Rome from the Pope. The dissatisfaction entertained by the susceptible Lombards at the bureaucratic injunctions of the minister Rattazzi was being zealously fomented by these intriguers with the proposition of a popular clause against the selfish policy of Piedmont, actuated solely by an instinct of acquisition, and neglecting from cold self-interest to take the least thought of the poor enchained provinces of Italy, left to pine in captivity. With the strong and pronounced sentiment for unity in Italy, appeals of this kind would always have something attractive to a popular audience. But the danger likely to arise from them was powerfully heightened by the profound pain caused throughout Italy at the cession of Nice. There, said these intemperate demagogues, there stands the Piedmontese minister in the conviction of his selfishness; on the one side he dismembers Italy of its ancient province as the price of an accession of territory; on the other, he looks with cold unconcern upon the woes of our brethren! This inflammatory language failed of general effect. The elections in Central Italy were overwhelming in a ministerial majority; not because there was indifference as to the liberation of Italy, but because there was, on the contrary, confidence that the statesman who had achieved so much, would be prepared at the proper moment to consummate his work. And this really was the intention of Cavour. But to fulfil this purpose he was not ready to imperil the existence of what had been won by premature encounter with an unknown force. There ought to be no illusion as to the condition of the Italian armaments. All that formed the old Piedmontese army was in perfect condition. But the rest, however excellent might be its material, was thoroughly

raw and unformed. Nor could this be otherwise. There never had been an army in Tuscany or the Duchies fit for service. Their sovereigns, for all purposes except of parade, had systematically relied upon Austrian garrisons. It is the work of time to form recruits and soldiers; and it took Della Marmora years to train the soldiers of Novara into a perfect army. Enthusiasm and public spirit were plentiful, but even any amount of these qualities cannot dispense with a lengthened degree of training to ensure victory over disciplined and fully equipped armies. The contest in prospect, if Piedmont were to commit an aggression, was one the proportions of which could not well be predicted, for the Neapolitan army was then intact, the Papal forces were being actively recruited; while on the one hand Austria showed decided dispositions not to brook tamely further encroachment on the part of her deadly foe; and on the other, France held out no assurance of giving active support. Hence, Count Cavour's policy was directed to promote by every possible exertion, the rapid organization of the State in a military and administrative respect, and to exert the influence he had justly acquired to induce the subjects of the Pope and King of Naples to endure yet for a term their subjection. Whoever is really conversant with Italian politics will bear us out in the statement, that all the counsels which incessantly proceeded from the cabinet of Turin at the time, strove most earnestly to impress the necessity of not compromising the certainty of future results by premature insurrections, which it would be impossible to support. It is highly to the credit of the practical sense of the Italian people, how fully these procrastinating counsels were appreciated, in spite of eager language; and how steadily Count Cavour was supported by all the leading politicians in the country. The chorus of all the men who approached and acted in connexion with the supreme direction at Turin—and they are the men who have borne the foremost part in bringing the country to its present pitch—concurring in one recommendation of self-denying patience and unflinching exertion for organization. So general a concurrence in moderation—not from listlessness, but from deliberate and stern resolution, thereby to husband strength for crushing action—is an unparalleled act of wisdom on the part of a population.

But the support they extended to Count Cavour was one not to be trifled with. It rested on conditions the execution of which would be jealously exacted, for public feeling bled at the loss of Nice. The irritation at its surrender was profound throughout the country. Reflection was able to persuade of the necessity to acquiesce, but it could not get the better of the painful distress with which this was accepted, and the conditions of which

overcame even Count Cavour's iron resolution as he made his statement to the Chambers. Everybody was conscious of a sacrifice being made under compulsion from a dagger held to the throat. It was one of those critical moments when popular feeling floats in a state which it requires but a stray gust to foment into tremendous agitation. The many mischievous politicians on the watch to wound the minister rushed to turn to account the favourable opportunity. The profound grief of the popular hero, Garibaldi, at seeing his native district separated from Italy, was eagerly sought to be converted into a clap-trap instrument of excitement, while within and without the Chambers Guerazzi and his colleagues discharged floods of incendiary rhetoric against the national treason perpetrated, and of mad appeals to frantic wholesale war. The situation was one which required the indefatigable efforts of the honest men who had obtained a leading influence in the various provinces of Italy to prevent the people from giving ear to these dangerous insinuations. And at the moment when Count Cavour was straining every nerve to calm agitation—when he staked all his credit and authority in daily entreaties not to risk foolhardy attempts, certain people want us to believe that he studiously instigated in Sicily—of all places the one where he could least give covert assistance—an outbreak so hazardous and so ill-combined as to offer the slenderest prospect of success against the overpowering forces of the Government. The original revolt did, in fact, fail; and the success of the revolution is due to the arrival of Garibaldi and his followers. When on Easter Sunday the first reliable tidings reached Turin of a rising at Palermo, and of the sanguinary contest at the monastery of La Garcia, the impression was intense. Everybody felt that an event had happened which was probably pregnant with great consequences. The leading representatives of the South Italian emigration were for the most part profoundly impressed with the likelihood of the movement ending in defeat. The Neapolitan exiles, indeed, distinctly pronounced it utterly premature; and that in the continental provinces the elements for an efficient insurrection were not as yet forthcoming. The Sicilians had good reason to reckon confidently on the active sympathies of the island population, but entertained anxious misgivings that their countrymen must be destitute of the means to cope with the ample royal armies. To the mass of Italian politicians perplexing considerations presented themselves in every aspect of the case. If the insurgents were worsted, how would it be possible, in their present state of agitation, to restrain the Italian population from flocking to the assistance of their brethren? How could the Piedmontese Government then avoid following in their wake without a total loss of influence and

consideration—and yet at the risk of plunging into a war where it might find arrayed against itself, Naples, the Pope, Austria, and even France? If, on the other hand, the insurrection was to triumph over the Bourbons, then there rose immediately to view a series of embarrassing visions as to the future constitution of these regions, and which from that distance presented the most alarming eventualities, comprising the claims of a foreign pretender, and the immediate prospect of having to deal with the Pope. For Italian statesmen dreaded the inorganic condition of the Neapolitan population as likely to produce a crop of difficulties inferior only to those which attended the question how to dispose of the Pope's person. The Sicilian outbreak gratified therefore, indeed, the passions of some demagogues, but the majority of thinking men regarded it with the anxious suspense with which the issue of what is considered an inward event becomes watched by persons whom its result must affect seriously. It was in this deprecatory mood of authoritative circles that Garibaldi's expedition was undertaken, not with the concurrence—much less at the instigation—of the minister, but under the protection of a rising agitation in the country which compelled him, in self-defence against greater danger, to connive at an enterprise whose hazardous audacity he inwardly deplored as a misfortune. For the presence of Garibaldi and his forlorn hope gave to the Sicilian struggle a character in the popular mind the importance of which could not be disregarded with impunity. The defeat of the purely Sicilian insurgents might possibly have been borne with by the kindred populations—but the destruction of the people's hero and his band of patriotic followers, would have been the signal for a tumultuous cry throughout the Peninsula to which the Turin Cabinet could never have been deaf. That destruction seemed a matter of inevitable certainty to men the most qualified to form a judgment. Seldom has there been such a concurrence in prognostication as on this occasion characterized the opinions of judicious persons with regard to the issue awaiting the most daring of expeditions. Nor let us be misled by the brilliancy of posterior events to condemn unduly the justness of these opinions. With all allowance for Garibaldi's military genius, and all respect for his followers' courage, there can be yet no question but that his success, in its first and really decisive stage, was the triumph of fortunate recklessness and unparalleled luck rather than of skill and strategy. To conquer an island held by an overwhelming and perfectly appointed army, supported by a fleet in command of the sea, Garibaldi disposed of about fifteen hundred imperfectly armed men, with two little mountain guns for all artillery, and embarked in a couple of trading steamers unfit to resist a shot.

For so rash an enterprise to succeed, it required the intervention of accidents altogether beyond calculation, which in the first place preserved the invaders, no one can explain how, from certain and easy demolition in the harbour of Marsala by the guns of the Neapolitan cruisers, and thus brought them in collision with commanders whose imbecility taxes credulity. Even after the capture of Palermo, the providential perfection of Francis II.'s miraculous idiocy alone enabled Garibaldi to become the Dictator of Naples. To infer therefore from his ultimate success that the decided misgivings entertained by Count Cavour and other competent men sprang from narrow prejudice, would be like arguing that a gamester has disproved the ruinous hazards of roulette by having accidentally flung his first stake upon the number that really turned up. The circumstances that led to the success of Garibaldi's magnanimous, but thoroughly rash expedition, were altogether beyond the range of foresight, and such as it would be criminal for a statesman—especially with Count Cavour's grave responsibility—to base his speculations upon.

The remarkable collapse which befel the king's authority in the Neapolitan States, is the natural consequence of the peculiar process of demoralization and exhaustion which had been adopted as a system of government. This system is the heirloom of Spanish traditions. It consists in converting Government into a crushing roller, which with irresistible weight presses out the last drop of spirit, of impulse, and of vigour—reducing a whole population into an undistinguishable company of mutes. Such a system offers supremely tempting advantage to a jealous and suspicious Government, which finds in it a safeguard against the dreaded danger of effective insurrection. But the systematic pressure that has thus ground down all independent spirit into equal meekness, likewise deprives the Government of all resources within the country capable of defying serious aggression. For the population successfully subjected to a course of this compression, has acquired in every layer of society a like taint of languor and faint-heartedness, which, however admirably adapted for tame obedience, utterly fail in furnishing at a pinch the stuff for steady sacrifice and exertion. The unmitigated pressure of the iron heel of Spanish despotism has weighed so fully upon the Neapolitan people, that its masses have been practically reduced into as feeble and abject and disjointed a condition as if they had been broken upon the wheel. As long, therefore, as this Government had merely to deal with the shadows of human life which it had created for itself at home, it was irresistibly strong in the fancied weight of its crushing executive force. But the day a really live assailant invaded its precincts, its forces at once vanished in his presence; not from positive attraction towards him, but

simply from total inability to confront strength and vigour of any kind. Still it is not to these elements of weakness at home that the fall of the King of Naples must be solely ascribed. Indeed, they ought to have been a timely assistance to him, as diminishing proportionately the amount of concessions which would have enabled him in due season to conjure the rising danger by a satisfactory semblance of national action. The peculiar downfall which has overtaken the Bourbon dynasty required for its event the especially stolid persistence of Francis II. in conspiring against his own interests.

It will be hard to find in the plentiful annals of benighted sovereigns an example parallel to that of this young king of Naples. He seems to epitomize in his person an unprecedented assemblage of qualities calculated to render a monarch at once contemptible as well as obnoxious. Many princes have fallen through their wilfulness, yet most have possessed sparks of some virtue or other. Charles I. had about his manners much of the high-bred gentleman; James II. showed in his foolhardy bigotry traces of the soldierlike courage he had exhibited in battle; Louis XVI. undoubtedly possessed a good deal of domestic kindness; but this youthful scion of the Bourbon appears to have an organization incapable of bearing the slightest infusion of any noble quality proper to the human constitution. His intellect, which evidently can command merely the simplest efforts of perception, has been rendered hopelessly malignant by systematic subjection from infancy to perverse influences, while his nerve and vigour are those of some wretched abortion, affording daily spectacles of the most abject cravenheartedness and inconceivable prostration. The father was a ruthless monster, but he had the courage and the talents for his disposition—while the son enjoys nothing but the worthless dregs of cowardly malignancy. To make up for these inborn defects, Fortune seemed to have made it her especial care to throw upon this young sovereign at his accession a profusion of favourable constellations. Never was there a prince for whom people were more disposed to make allowances, and whom they were more willing to applaud. But every opportunity was steadily rejected by an incurable hardness of sense, until at last this obstinate dulness worked its own destruction. It will be recollected that the first indications of the slightest disposition on the part of the king of Naples to modify his system and his policy were only consequent upon the capture of Palermo. That disaster produced in the royal councils most unambiguous consternation, but without an equally vivid impression of what was rendered imperative by such an event. The royal circles were convulsed with paroxysms of terror; the palace rang with the shrill clamour of frantic recriminations hurled

at each other by the different members of the royal family, in their despair at a misfortune which threatened each with loss of fortune, and the shipwreck of some private plot for his own especial advantage; while the sovereign's anguish vented itself literally in a whimpering exhibition of cries and contortions befitting only a little boy when for the first time thrust into a black-hole. In his extremity, therefore, he turned for help to a man whom on his deathbed his father had advised him to consult in the hour of need. This person was M. de Martino, at that moment in charge of the Neapolitan mission in Rome. Justly the public opinion of the Neapolitan service is so bad, that the *prima facie* appreciation of this statesman's character has been injuriously affected by this impression. It was hard to fancy it possible for a man to have retained his post during many years under King Ferdinand without having rendered himself a party to unworthy proceedings. It was not unnatural for those not possessed of closer knowledge, to contemplate him with suspicion in the character of a constitutional politician. These very intelligible misgivings were, however, thoroughly unfounded. M. de Martino's conduct during his many years of service under Ferdinand II. was marked by the most honourable and outspoken uprightness, and he certainly never purchased his post by accommodating language. Because he would not become a party to proceedings which he reprobated, he steadily rejected the most flattering offers of high office at home. His diplomatic reports were so little framed with a view to humour his sovereign's political bias as to have exposed him at one time to serious disgrace. Ferdinand II., however, was a man who could decipher character. He was convinced that Martino's high honour would never let him dabble in conspiracy against the dynasty from whom he accepted salary, and so willingly employed his great talent in foreign service, making his own comments upon the ample information supplied by his indefatigable activity. Hence, when on his deathbed he uneasily contemplated the lowering future, Ferdinand had especially advised his inexperienced successor, in the event of pressing difficulties, to seek counsel from M. de Martino, as a man who, though unfortunately infected with liberal doctrines, would yet not betray his confidence. Francis II., upon his accession, immediately sent for him and applied for his advice. But M. de Martino's counsels were far too large for the young king's cramped intellect. They involved a complete rupture with the past, and co-operation with Piedmont in a national policy.

Such language was heresy beyond comprehension in the royal palace at Naples; and M. de Martino probably owed quiet return to his old post in Rome as much to a prudent inclination to postpone decisive acts till after the termination of the then pending

Italian campaign, as to the yet ringing recommendation of the dying monarch. There, confining himself within the legitimate sphere of his duties, M. de Martino exerted himself with faithful but despondent zeal in circumstantial reports to awaken his sovereign to a sense of danger, and to counteract the baneful influence of the Vatican, when the appeal of the king in his distress suddenly summoned him to Naples. The scene which he met in that capital was one of unlimited bewilderment in official regions. M. de Martino was stormed with a clamour for help, of which it seemed superstitiously believed that his capacity contained an inexhaustible fund at will. He was beset with a gaping mendicancy, like that with which a credulous mob besets a quack believed to be in possession of a wonder-working specific. But when with prompt distinctness M. de Martino began to unfold the absolute conditions on which alone, in his opinion, depended a chance of saving the dynasty, he discovered that even the present intense fit of consternation had not been strong enough to eradicate the obstinate elements of hereditary prejudice. Constitution was still a sin in the king's eyes which he would not face; an alliance with Piedmont was to him still a wickedness, at the thought of which he crossed himself with a holy shudder. The idea had not yet penetrated the royal intellect, that its effective power had entered upon a process of dissolution incapable of riding out the vigour of the rising storm. Above all, there was an unaccountable notion that the Royal House of Naples would not be abandoned by the family of European sovereigns, who would defend it against any such disaster as had overtaken the unfortunate Dukes of Central Italy. It was in consequence of this ungrounded belief that M. de Martino, actuated by a sincere desire to get the Constitution introduced before it was too late to save the dynasty, hastened to Paris with a mission which naturally suggested wrong interpretations. It is a misfortune unavoidable in a politician having to work with unwilling materials, that he is at times obliged to accept positions which expose him to stand in an injurious light. It was not therefore wonderful that a public duly mistrustful of Neapolitan sincerity for genuine reform, should draw suspicious inferences from the fact that the leading statesman of the hour inaugurated his action by flying—not to Turin, the centre of national movement—but to a foreign court, which could exercise active influence only through an act of intervention. The motive, however, which really impelled M. de Martino to proceed in hot haste to Paris, was, once for all, to settle the certainty of no foreign assistance coming from abroad, in a manner that might destroy the illusions of the royal family, and, as he hoped, render it obligatory upon the king to adopt a constitutional and national policy without reserve. The result responded

to his expectations only to a certain extent. When the communications brought back from Paris destroyed every possible shred of flattering delusion, that from some quarter or other foreign assistance might yet be extended, the despair and anguish which overcame the king's superstitious conscience on finding himself brought face to face with the dreaded monster, Constitution, resulted in spectacles so painfully contemptible as to tax credulity.

But there was no help. The bitter misfortune had to be embraced, and the only alleviation left for Francis II. was to prostrate himself in humble supplication before Pius IX. for dispensation to perpetrate the impiety of temporary apostasy, until better times might allow him with impunity to recur to the holy principles of traditional misgovernment. The concessions thus extorted from the king's drivelling helplessness were ample in principle. That they should become so also in practice was the resolution that sincerely actuated M. de Martino and his colleagues in the Nero cabinet. It would be the height of injustice to suspect M. de Martino to have been guilty of diplomatic wiles in the large reforms he proclaimed, and the national principles he avowed. Not a speck of suspicion can rest on the perfect good faith and genuine Italian feeling of this statesman and the members of his Government. But he was strongly of opinion that the interests of the common country, as well as the particular conditions of the Neapolitan populations, required at all events the present conservation of autonomy in Southern Italy. In this opinion M. de Martino was not singular, as is sufficiently proved by the number of distinguished patriots—men that had suffered for their cause—who came forward zealously to co-operate with him in the effort to establish constitutional freedom under the reigning dynasty. All men of sense were impressed with the absence of pervading public spirit—especially in the provinces—and of any pronounced political opinion in the masses calculated to impose conditions. It was fully felt that the population had become reduced to a so thoroughly inorganic condition as to be incapable of independent and initiatory action. Under these circumstances, it was generally held by thinking men, that a constitution of any kind should not be rejected, but rather treasured as a means of gradually elevating the character of the masses. Even that batch of Neapolitan exiles who had identified themselves with the principle of Italian unity in its extremest expression, virtually admitted the soundness of these considerations. Poerio and his political confederates very rightly abstained from taking advantage of the amnesty, because after their distinct declarations in favour of one Italy under Victor Emmanuel, their presence in Naples could serve only as the symbol of agitation.

to the embarrassment of the Government. Individually, they declined to acknowledge any other sovereign than the one of their choice; but admitting freely the difficulties in at once amalgamating as they would like the Neapolitan States with the rest of Italy, they resolved not spontaneously to offer obstacles in the way of a consolidation of constitutional Government under the reigning dynasty. Indeed, so lively a sense was entertained at Turin of the peculiar character of the Neapolitan population, that even after Garibaldi's success in Sicily, and when already he was entering upon his triumphant career on the mainland, Count Cavour was still affected with anxious doubts as to the advisability of pushing the movement to annexation. But these considerable chances in favour of the reigning king were counterbalanced by an irresistible combination of circumstances. In the first place, the royal family was torn by dissensions arising from a tissue of cross-plots. Foremost was the king's step-mother, a woman of masculine audacity and intrigue, who had not been restrained by profuse devoutness from deliberately plotting by her dying husband's bedside to substitute her own son in the room of the legitimate heir, and now again was sanctimoniously conspiring how to make her helpless stepchild's distress conduce to the accomplishment of this cherished object. This indefatigable lady held to the mean-spirited Francis II. the terrible position which in nurseries attaches to the old dame who carries about her person the birchen rod. Thus M. de Martino found it absolutely necessary to make it a capital condition, that the queen mother should take her departure. Unfortunately this inveterate adept in intrigue, under the pretence of merely waiting for a daily expected ship, contrived not to withdraw further than Gaeta, from which point she maintained an unceasing course of plottings. At the same time the king's uncles, the Counts of Aquila and Syracuse, were each engaged in pursuing private interests. The former, who had been the affectionate supporter of his late brother during all his worst proceedings, now suddenly expressed the bitterest censure of the old system, and showed himself especially assiduous in paying attention to France. The honourable motive for this patriotic activity on the part of the prince was the desire to get Francis II. declared incompetent to administer the State, and himself proclaimed lieutenant-general of the realm. The Count of Syracuse's dictates were at least more modest, if not more elevated. This prince is a voluptuary and a libertine of the stamp of Philippe Egalité, who above everything wants an easy life and a pleasant life. His royal appanage was the object of his chief solicitude. He thought he could not better secure it from the danger of confiscation in the wake of possible revolutions, than by betaking himself at once with bag and baggage into

the enemy's camp. Naples accordingly contemplated the edifying spectacle of a debauched Bourbon, tottering beneath repeated strokes of palsy, who spontaneously commenced agitation against his kin, and ostentatiously paraded uncalled-for declarations in favour of Victor Emmanuel. Finally, there was the evil disposition of the wretched sovereign, whose confirmed habits of bigoted prejudice not only made it necessary for the ministers to extort from him whatever they might want by the extreme threat of resignation, but actually induced his benighted intellect secretly to confide in his worst enemies, the queen mother and her agents, the Camarilla. The difficulties which M. de Martino had to encounter from the king's infatuated dulness and underhand dealings with reactionary officers cannot be imagined. It may well be wondered why he did not throw up the task of saving a master who requited his efforts by such ingratitude and hopelessly compromised his position in the country. The neglect to do so has certainly acted injuriously on the minister's personal interests.

But what must be pronounced a political error proceeded from a highly honourable feeling. M. de Martino became early aware that he was sacrificing himself by remaining in his position; but feeling that at the moment he alone stood between the king and a sanguinary reaction, of however short duration, which would proceed from the soldiery, already difficult to restrain, he considered it his duty to remain in office as long as he could preserve innocent lives from this otherwise inevitable slaughter. Such conduct deserves acknowledgment. But over and above these already formidable obstacles to contend against, there came in addition the insuperable element of Garibaldi's solid success in Sicily and resolute intention to advance. This fact precisely furnished in abundance the one thing which would not have been forthcoming from within the country. It at once transferred to revolution, in the fullest Italian sense, that superstitious attribute of force which had been the spell whereby Government had held populations in such mute subjection. The immediate consequence was an irresistible attraction, such as always impels the weak to creep under the wing of the strong, and the timid to put their confidence in the uppermost. It was a national process of solution against which, in the void it had created, the Government found itself unable to provide any counteracting spirit; for although political opinion was in a low condition of positive development, yet one feeling of intense distrust in Bourbon faithfulness pervaded all classes of the Neapolitan dominions. The only element which therefore might perhaps have served to support the sinking cause of the dynasty was the army. But then it would have been necessary for the king to face the enemy, and it was not until inexorable necessity drove him, as a helpless fugitive,

within the lines of Capua, that this pitiful monarch could be got near troops off parade. The force that thus irresistibly swept away the Neapolitan throne was a force which, by the fact of its successes, necessarily also coerced Count Cavour. The tiny germ that had stolen out of Genoa had sprung into the proportions of a power extorting a prominent place in the contemplation of Europe, and to be disowned by the Government of Victor Emmanuel, only at the price of complete moral suicide at home. Hence the self-evident impossibility for the Piedmontese Minister to respond to the proposal of an unlimited alliance with the Government of Francis II. Such an alliance had been an object of Count Cavour's most earnest wishes for a long period. The leading Neapolitan patriots, at the time when the Italian campaign began, had made an offer to King Ferdinand to waive the question of a constitution, if he would enter into active alliance with Piedmont. On the accession of his son, the Piedmontese cabinet had strained every nerve to induce him to enter into such a treaty, as the only means to obviate convulsions. These advances had encountered a steadily stolid repulse. When in the depths of his distress the Neapolitan sovereign turned, with accents of despair, to court the hand he had formerly rejected with such confirmed obstinacy, that hand was no longer in a condition to extend the assistance it once had been both able and willing to afford. The Neapolitan envoys despatched to Turin to negotiate a close union were there cordially received. The Government of Victor Emmanuel was thoroughly ready to live on terms of good fellowship with that of Francis II., and to abstain from aggravating its embarrassments. It was sincerely prepared to abide in the neighbourly relations of an ally. But for Count Cavour to have concluded, in the presence of what was occurring in Sicily, a treaty which must have implied a new recognition of, and fresh guarantees for, the autonomy of the Neapolitan dominions, would have been to convert Victor Emmanuel from the foremost champion of Italy into the foremost and recreant defender of its civil disunion. For any offensive and defensive treaty concluded at that moment with Francis II. would have distinctly invested Victor Emmanuel with the character of his declared protector—imposing upon that monarch the condition to stand between the former and the rising flood of revolution; to confront, and if necessary to repel with imperturbable determination the advances of those who had been devoted associates in his own great labour, and were merely trying to carry out in Southern Italy the same work to which, in other quarters, he had called them in stirring appeals. It is very natural that the King of Naples, in his profound distress, should have ardently desired to obtain the assistance of this powerful intervention. It is very certain that the

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Neapolitan ministers who advanced the proposal are men whose integrity and patriotism offer every guarantee for the good faith with which it was their intention to turn to account the advantages they thereby would have obtained. But it is also clear to every impartial observer how utterly foolish it would have been in Count Cavour to allow Victor Emmanuel to ruin his popular position—imperilling at the same time the whole future of Italy—merely to serve the dynastic interests of a sovereign who, as long as he had any power, steadily withheld it from him with malignant obstinacy. The Piedmontese Government did as much as ought ever to have been expected from it, when it expressed its readiness to accept the new professions of Francis II., and not to initiate movements of subversion in his dominions, but even to exert its moral influence with the view of inducing Garibaldi not to pursue his course of aggression. The Piedmontese Government acted fairly up to the point of these intentions. The contrary assertion proceeds from a total misapprehension, first, of Count Cavour's great diffidence for a long while as to the policy, in the abstract, of aiming at annexation with a population of so peculiar a condition as that of the Neapolitan States; and, secondly, of his decided objection to see it consummated by the violent means of conquest.

There can be but one opinion as to the pure and highminded character of Garibaldi. It has been well said of him, that he has been cast in the genuine mould of Plutarch's men. His is a nature of magnanimous devotion, and singleminded abnegation, without a speck of calculation or guile. But natures of so pure a block are little adapted to deal adequately with the composite occurrences of practical life. Their views are so entirely of a transcendent aspiration, as to render them unwilling to contemplate—unable to appreciate—the vulgar necessities of expediency. Such is the case with Garibaldi. Fully has he established claims to the title of hero; but we fancy that hardly the most fanatic admirer of his virtues is still prepared to be enthusiastic about the Liberator's political capacities. It was inevitable that a mind so ingenuous and simply straightforward should often have a sovereign contempt for considerations which weighed with a profound and responsible politician, like Count Cavour: unmitigated fearlessness is not the exact element for duties that have essentially to repose on mature and subtle calculations. Also the grief which overcame Garibaldi on seeing his native province torn from Italy, rendered him incapable of understanding any explanations, and inspired him with indignation against the minister to the account of whose pusillanimity he laid the perpetration of this act. For to the man with a natural temper of forlorn hopes, it was unintelligible how even all the armies of France and Austria

together could have an appalling aspect. When therefore Garibaldi entered upon the expedition to Sicily, he was in a humour of deep resentment at Count Cavour, which became aggravated by the obstacles he found thrown in his way. The class of men to whom he thus was driven to find associates in so desperate an enterprise were daring adventurers, whose turn of mind naturally inclined them to extreme political doctrines. These doctrines in their distinct formula of republicanism, Garibaldi had long forsworn with the full singlemindedness of his strong convictions, and his generally true sense for properly appreciating the nature of things when once brought sufficiently close to him. In the personal qualities of Victor Emmanuel, he had recognised the unreal nature of Mazzinian abstractions. But while Garibaldi's straightforward fervour was then wholly won to the cause of monarchy, he yet allied himself with republicans, because the unsuspicious ingenuousness of his patriotism was easily caught by their specious arguments, to act fearlessly and rapidly toward the complete consummation of an united Italy, without regard for dictates of so called political expediency, or possible obstacles from without—France, Austria and the Pope, three quantities of grave power to statesmen, but which to the men of this school were mere chimeras existing in the brain of official prejudice. Suggestions of this kind unavoidably grew in attraction with the sense of growing force for their execution. Master of Palermo, sovereign of Sicily, after a course of most marvellous and instantaneous success under apparently impossible circumstances, it could not be otherwise but that Garibaldi, with his dauntless heart, should have acquired an unflinching conviction in the invincibility of valour and reckless daring. What had been performed was to him merely an earnest of the absolute facility with which might be done what still remained to be achieved for the completion of his cherished hopes.

Consequently, at Palermo, Garibaldi was precisely in the mood the least fit to resist the congenial instigations of the movement party—the least calculated to lend a favourable ear to suggestions of temporizing policy, especially when coming from an obnoxious quarter. The moment was certainly not auspicious for Count Cavour to try and exercise influence over the decisions of the exasperated Dictator. It is more than doubtful whether any representations would have been able to make Garibaldi desist from pursuing his advantages on the mainland. It does, however, seem to us, that the measures adopted by Count Cavour with the view of restraining the Dictator's action were not skilfully devised. The mission to Sicily of M. La Farina was an unhappy choice. That politician, a Sicilian, and a highly honourable man, who laboured long and steadily for the patriotic cause, had, however,

made himself too direct and uncompromising a partisan of the minister not to excite by his presence very irritating recollections. In M. La Farina Garibaldi perceived the virulent emissary of a powerful opponent bent upon vehemently thwarting him; while those about him freely concurred in denouncing a politician with whom many had come into bitter conflict in the course of party contest. The consequence was the summary expulsion and deportation from Palermo of M. La Farina, and several political associates; an act which necessarily caused much painful scandal. After such incidents, the Dictator gave himself up to decided resolutions which were already far too much advanced towards realization to admit of his being any longer influenced by the counsels of moderation conveyed to him in a letter from Victor Emmanuel. Those counsels were not feigned, because granted even that Count Cavour was anxious for the subversion of the Bourbon dynasty, he yet deprecated the method in which Garibaldi proposed to bring it about. For it was plainly foreseen how his success at Naples would be attended by all the dangers that have really arisen in the wake of the intemperate men who became promoted to a highly critical authority. On the other hand, a conviction was entertained, that, with Sicily torn from the Bourbons and annexed to the territories of Victor Emmanuel, the Italian feeling would steadily develop itself in the Neapolitan provinces, to an extent which must, in the end, convert the Parliament into the constitutional and irresistible organ of its expression.

Such a revolution, it was justly held, would be far preferable to an armed conquest, even though considerably delayed; for it must tend to justify Victor Emmanuel's title abroad, and facilitate his Government within. Count Cavour wished to leave to the undefined, but unerring and conclusive process of time, an operation which the impatience of Garibaldi and his followers fretted at seeing delayed for a day. In support of this policy, the Piedmontese minister stretched, to the verge of unpopularity, his influence with a view to arrest what he considered a precipitate event. Instead of abetting underhand opposition, the Piedmontese Cabinet was led by motives of policy, anxiously to extend to the constitutional efforts of the Neapolitan ministry, as much countenance as it possibly could, without irremediably compromising itself in Italy. Some persons may be disposed to blame these views as timid. That is a matter of legitimate controversy with which we have not to deal here. The point we dwell upon is the historical fact, that so far from being directed to undermine and subvert the throne of Francis II., the Piedmontese agents at his Court were strictly instructed to abstain from all acts calculated to accelerate what, in Count Cavour's

opinion, was a premature catastrophe. Also the attitude preserved by Count Villamarina proved rigidly in accordance with these directions, and it is out of the question to ascribe to emissaries from his Government the events which ultimately ensued in the continental provinces. They are solely and entirely due to the irrepressible ardour of Garibaldi, who gave full vent to his contempt for diplomatic considerations, and considers the Piedmontese ministers to have acted towards him in a spirit of malicious hostility. Thus with no other resources than were supplied by his own energy and skill, Garibaldi matured the invasion, and executed the conquest of Naples.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the details attending Garibaldi's tenure of sovereign authority in Naples. For the comprehension of Count Cavour's subsequent policy, it suffices to bear distinctly in mind how the event at once invested Garibaldi with an immense accession of power, and proportionately extended the sphere within the immediate range of his action. For although the defence which, with an army of fifty-five thousand men, Francis II. has made good against raw levies from behind elaborate fortifications ought to offer nothing unexpected, yet the incredulous astonishment which the announcement of his intended resistance universally encountered, is conclusive evidence that not even his friends contemplated the probability of such fortitude. When the king's departure put Garibaldi in peaceful possession of the capital, the prevailing conviction was that the Royalist columns near Capua and Gaeta were already vying with each other in a process of dissolution, and that virtually no material obstacle any longer interposed itself between the conquering Liberator and the outposts of the French garrison of Rome. To march upon that city, by force of Italian arms to wrest it from the intrusive protection of foreign guardians, and at one vehement blow to avenge the disasters of 1849, and demolish the hated temporality of the Pope, has been the acknowledged dream of Garibaldi's life. When last year he commanded the levies of Central Italy, during a highly critical stage of the negotiations in reference to the then pending annexation, it had required Victor Emmanuel's personal appeal to induce the General to abstain from grievously compromising a hopeful situation by the rash invasion of the Pope's States. That voice, however, had lost much of its effect, since it was looked upon as an instrument under the direction of a recreant politician, the paltriness of whose views were now assumed to be demonstrated in the light of irrefragable success. Besides, the set of men who had succeeded in surrounding Garibaldi made it an especial duty to foment his instinctive bent towards a descent upon Rome. For the most part they were reckless levellers of a dogmatic school, who breathed uncompromising hatred to priests and all institu-

tions connected with them. Regardless of possible consequences, they longed to make the same short work with the Pope and cardinals which they were delighted at the opportunity of making with some refractory Neapolitan bishops. Undoubtedly there was extreme danger to be apprehended from these rough heads being admitted to deal with the most delicate of political problems. We are now in a perfect condition to appreciate the administrative capacities of these individuals by their operations in Naples. The crisis being now well over, there can be no reason not to denounce distinctly the mischief they were so near bringing on. Bertani, Crispi, and associates, by their persistently untoward administration, achieved the incredible. Their offensive measures rendered Garibaldi's Government so obnoxious to all classes, except the mob of the capital, as actually to call into existence a party which, but for the timely intervention of the Piedmontese, would probably have brought back the fugitive king, from sheer despair at a prospect of indefinite and ruinous confusion. The enthusiasm showered down on Victor Emmanuel was accompanied by so strong and outspoken a feeling of reaction against the Dictator as was truly painful to every one animated with a proper regard for the single-minded honesty of the high-souled patriot.

We do not know where to find a parallel case to the responsibility which Count Cavour had the moral boldness to assume under these circumstances, with the conviction of obviating still greater perils. Probably the nearest case in point is the resolution Mr. Canning dared to take for the attack on Copenhagen, upon the strength of information which, however credible, it was yet quite out of his power satisfactorily to verify. But the stake involved by him was far below what Count Cavour might have risked. Labouring yet under the stigma of bad faith, so freely heaped upon him for the transactions about Savoy and Nice, Count Cavour found himself impelled to have immediate recourse to a flagrant violation of the law of nations, without an adequate pledge for the result. Although financial and other reasons ought long ago to have set the thoughts of the Austrian Government in other directions, it nevertheless appears beyond doubt, that at that period the Emperor was so bent upon a renewal of war in Italy as to have become dissuaded only in consequence of the utter failure his advances encountered at Warsaw. The most reliable information confirmed Austrian armaments, which could be meant only with a view to war. The Pope's ministers reckoned confidently upon its occurrence, and the Piedmontese Government became anxiously impressed with its imminent probability. It is indeed generally assumed, that at Chambéry the French Emperor promised to connive at the pro-

posed aggression of the Piedmontese. We have no grounds to doubt the correctness of this prevalent assertion, but we have never heard of any engagement actively to assist Piedmont in consummating her particular operations in the Roman and Neapolitan States. All that is suggested to have ever occurred, is an intimation to Austria from France, that she could not be allowed to undo quietly in Lombardy the work which had cost such an amount of French life. Against an attempt to make the province again Austrian, a prospect of renewed military alliance was held out to Piedmont: but not, we believe, with any engagement precluding possible claims for compensation. The alternative Count Cavour had therefore to deal with was full of serious perplexity. If he let things go of themselves, Garibaldi and his intemperate followers would invade the Papal States, and rush into collision with the French forces, which, whether resulting in victory or defeat, must be alike pregnant with untoward consequences. If, on the other hand, he himself took the initiative in solving the vexatious problem of the Pope's anomalous establishment, he had to run the risk of opposition of undefined extent, his only possible ally being a power whose assistance he might have to remunerate by some fresh and painful concession, to the renewed irritation of all Europe. In arriving at the deliberate decision which he came to under the circumstance of such highly critical contingencies, Count Cavour has, in our opinion, vindicated his genuine claims to be a great statesman, more than by any previous act. The degree in which justice has been instinctively rendered to his bold deed is very striking. In the general concurrence of the best and most influential portions of European society to abstain from resenting—even from seriously discountenancing—proceedings which so clearly violated the usually sacred provisions of common right, it has been Count Cavour's fortune to obtain a truly unparalleled tribute to the moral justification of his acts. It is the final evidence of how profoundly distasteful the Pope's temporal sovereignty has become to the public feeling and the public conscience of the majority in Europe. At the same time this affords a lively expression of the conviction entertained as to the dangers that must have attended every other possible mode of procedure. It was beyond the power of man to prevent the States of the Church from being subjected to aggression from Garibaldi in possession of the contiguous kingdom. If success should attend the single-handed efforts of the reckless partisan, then that direction, which in the hands of Victor Emmanuel might be to Europe a pledge for sound and equitable adjustment, would for a period irrevocably lapse to a hot-tempered party of reckless subversionists. But success was out of the question. The contest Garibaldi had

resolved upon engaging in would have imposed upon the Emperor, if merely for the honour of his arms, the necessity of completely defeating him. Thus the only result of his advance could have been to embroil the already critical condition of the Peninsula by irretrievable confusion, and to ruin his military prospects by a fool-hardy diversion, that must have ended in the destruction of gallant bodies, and have deprived Italy of possible assistance from her only active ally, and inevitably have brought down at once the Austrian Emperor, eager for war, upon the inadequate North-Italian army. It is from this imminent danger of confusion, anarchy, and destruction of the means by which independence and strength alone can be ultimately consummated, that Count Cavour has saved his country, through boldly taking in hand the work which Garibaldi had resolved to fulfil in his own unsophisticated way. And in acting thus it may fearlessly be pronounced that he has rendered a general service to Europe. With what vigour the resolution arrived at was carried out by the officers entrusted with its execution, requires no comment. The events at Castel Fidardo and Ancona are perfectly known and appreciated. Then and there the military establishment and temporal sovereignty of Pius IX., (except as Lord of Rome itself,) were for all practical purposes demolished and buried. All that can interest us is the consideration what action it may be the Pope's intention to pursue in his present shrunk condition. Is it his resolution to scout surrender? Or can he be brought to terms? Above all, what are the means of which he can still dispose? And what kind of position may their judicious employment still suffice to secure, not merely for Pius IX., but for the institution of the Papacy?

If the ordinary rules for calculating the resources of governments were adequate for the estimate of Papal conditions, their exact valuation would lie within a nutshell. Reduced to the possession of his capital and an unproductive strip of land, and cut off from all territorial revenue, the Pope would be thus on the precise footing of the King of Naples in Gaeta; with the sole difference that exists between a blockade and a siege. Both processes, under consistent execution, must ultimately result with mathematical infallibility in starvation and surrender. But the altogether unique pretensions and principles that constitute the institution of the Papacy, likewise render altogether exceptional the quality of the resources of which it may be supposed to dispose. For those peculiar resources would be drawn from the regions of inward convictions and feelings not amenable to that mathematical analysis which can attain to irrefutable demonstration of material elements. In considering, therefore, the condition of Papal force, we continually have to deal with esti-

mates that cannot be brought to the test of conclusive processes, and can rely only on our own vigilance not to be misled into exaggerated appreciations. A point upon which there can however be no doubt, is the decided disposition of the Court of Rome not to waive its peculiar pretensions, and consequently to call into play all the particular resources in question, whatever these may practically amount to. For naturally the Court of Rome is infected with the same revival of uncompromising earnestness, which has been so prominent a feature in the general aspect of Catholic society of the present century in contrast to that of the last. The Vatican has become imbued with a very different temper from that unconscious contagion of Encyclopedic want of faith in his own infallibility, which induced Clement XIV. to lend himself as a voluntary instrument for the suppression of the body-guard of Pontifical sovereignty, the Jesuits, and from that pervading self-abandonment which caused a Peace of Tolentino to be tamely acquiesced in without scruples of conscience. To these deluded dispositions, there has succeeded a spasmodic grimness, very possibly the fatal symptom of disease at heart, attended with perfectly convulsive efforts at a return to full assertions of traditional pretensions. A pronounced tendency in this direction on the part of the Court of Rome, must unavoidably result in an inveterate conflict with the spirit of the age, and in the immediate question of Italian settlement with the strong sense of the people. But as by its constitution, or rather usurpations, that Court has become the most absolute in Europe, its action may be considered essentially liable to personal influences. The policy of the Vatican, therefore, if it can be at all foregathered, is to be learnt only in the character of the owner for the time being. This possession is at present divided amongst Pius IX., Cardinal Antonelli, and Monsignor Merode. Let the extreme resolutions of headstrong opposition prevail with these men, and they may be expected to the end of their lives to command all the forces at the disposal of Rome. Let them, on the other hand, be disposed to fair compromise, and there can be no question of their becoming hampered by any unruly fanaticism from the weak spirit of discipline proper to the classes constituting the conscientiously Catholic world.

Weak and vacillating as Pius IX. is by nature, the range of his oscillations is yet always strictly confined within the limits of priestly feeling. Such was also the character of that liberalism which once endowed him with singular sympathies. It was vague and theocratic impulse towards benevolence on the part of an intellect blandly ignorant of all knowledge as to practical government, or the temper of the times. In the Pius IX. of 1848, we were supplied with the exact measure of what Guelphism can pos-

sibly arrive at, as his natural age and distress have only tended to confirm and develop the elements of sacerdotal disposition which constitute the framework of the Pope's nature. Pius IX., in cast of mind, views of duty and appreciation of affairs, is the type of a monk raised to the chair of St. Peter. The world and its perplexing complications of State—Christianity and its grave interest of conscience, the Pope approaches, considers, and treats with the simple order of ideas which enable an humble friar to deal with the little incidents of his cloister life. The inevitable consequence of such circumscribed powers of vision being transferred into high and responsible position, has been to convert duty into a haunting hobgoblin for the mystically reverent Pius IX. Hence the pertinacity with which he has started back from the bare idea of a cession of temporal possessions. Ambitious lust of authority, there is none in his mild nature. Equally devoid is he of all kindred passions—avarice or covetousness or a sense for worldly comforts. One feeling alone can inspire his feeble mind with the strength of passionate resolution—his devotion to whatever reason or current prejudice may represent as portion of a Pontiff's duties. To this idea, therefore, Pius IX. is wedded, while the growing influence of mysticism over him has tended to confuse the conception of duty, and to render the Pope more and more prone to become the slave of prejudices. The force of these have hurried him into assuming an attitude in reference to his territorial possessions, which is not in accordance with the true spirit of the Church. Under the influence of exaggerated suggestions, Pius IX. has been guilty of the indiscretion of identifying himself in his capacity of spiritual Pontiff with his pretensions of temporal sovereign, and of linking the two authorities together. It is probable that the possible consequences of such an error were originally not comprehended. It is therefore a point of grave interest whether the persons of influence at the Vatican are prepared to abide by them, or are likely to induce the Sovereign Pontiff to modify in the eleventh hour his dispositions. Undoubtedly Cardinal Antonelli is the exact antitype to Pius IX. in all that concerns devotional and mystic convictions. His very positive and very sober astuteness is as indifferent to highflown aspirations, as his tenacious and grasping nature is destitute of sacrifice and abnegation. The service of the Vatican has been to Cardinal Antonelli the trade of his election. That service requires ecclesiastical profession, therefore Cardinal Antonelli professed. The calling thus adopted from calculation has been pursued with admirable assiduity, and the paramount influence made good over the pureminded disposition of the pious Pope has been acquired at a fabulous expense of unrelaxing and undeviating craft. Pius IX. is resolved to be ever the servant of every fancied gust

of duty. Cardinal Antonelli is as steadily resolved that no pressure and no vexation shall ever induce him to slip his moorings from a berth of interest and emolument. The circumstances of the moment which drifted Antonelli into office, tended towards overwhelming and apparently final reaction. It is not wonderful that a man gifted merely with the natural sharpness of a shrewd adventurer, and destitute of all comprehensive instruction, should have been misled into an exaggerated confidence in the perpetuity of conditions so favourable to irresponsible authority. The virtues of armies and treasures inspired overweening confidence in a mind whose natural want of faith was unable to grasp the force of principle and convictions. In the system of his administration the Cardinal accordingly proceeded upon the assumption that authority, power and protection could not fail, and that the passing away of possessions was out of the possible order of things, at least in his day. With views of so confined a range, there could be no obstacle founded on principle to prevent the Cardinal from propitiating every whim of his sovereign. This he completely knew how to accomplish. When, therefore, the grave complications of 1859 began to break over Italy, the same policy cordially united the Pontiff and his minister—although they embraced it from different feelings. The former was imbued with an exalted trust in the invincible triumph of Apostolical glory, while the latter merely had a profound contempt for speculations based on the chance of successfully breaking the bristling force of established prerogative. Antonelli therefore steadily discountenanced all notions of concessions to growing menace, because he recollected how in 1848 he had witnessed the overthrow of triumphant revolution; because he could not wean himself from an ignorant reliance in the invincibility of the victors of that day, and because he was utterly without the capacity to estimate the worth of altered circumstances, and the force of new powers which now came upon the scene. When, however, the progress of events began sensibly to impair the established order of things, and painfully to affect the conditions of the Holy See, the difference in disposition between the servant and the master revealed itself in the difference of their impulses. With his shrewd disinclination for hazardous risks, Antonelli would have been perfectly content to roll himself up in an attitude of impassive obstruction, meeting the rough force of superior infractions with no other resistance than of imperturbable protest. His positive turn of mind entertained a thorough dislike for the shadowy resources of purely Catholic elements, while a sober sense for ways and means rendered him extremely averse to exciting suggestions for raising efficient armies and enlisting distinguished captains. The Pope, on the contrary—mild, benign, and affable as he is by nature—was

quite disposed to such views, under the influence of that superstitious sense of duty we have alluded to. The contest engaged took for him the shape of a contest for holy principle, in behalf of which it was sternly incumbent upon him to consider the horrors of war as a minor evil. Such views naturally responded to the inward impulses of Catholics imbued with mystic fanaticism. It is this party that has found a devoted organ in the energetic person of Monsignor Merode, who transfers to the duties of ecclesiastical life the vehement impetuosity, not amiss in his former military profession. Thanks to the advantages offered for intimate intercourse by a household appointment, this prelate has gradually succeeded in asserting an influence over Pius IX., which at present actually has supplanted that of the great minister. Monsignor Merode is the man who has been the soul of all the Pope's military doings. He brought General Lamoricière into Italy, and with fanatical zeal seconded his efforts for the creation of an army. It is known that these measures were supremely displeasing to Cardinal Antonelli. His resolution not to break with the sovereign, made him however quietly acquiesce in what he saw the latter had set his mind upon. This condescension has maintained him in rank; but has not preserved him from most painful encroachments upon his influence. Of late Cardinal Antonelli holds the seals of office, merely because the Pope has as yet been unable to summon sufficient courage to go through the act of dismissing the man whose spell he has so long undergone, and whom he still quails at. Favour and influence have entirely fallen to the share of Monsignor Merode, while, excepting title, little is likely to remain in the possession of the imperturbable Cardinal, whose practical philosophy appears proof to all offence. The policy advocated by the ruling favourite comprises everything which is extreme. Monsignor Merode is pushing armaments, and enlistments, that must be meant in contemplation of a desperate renewal of active warfare; while he is also strongly of opinion that the Pope should betake himself into foreign parts, and thence wage, with full spiritual weapons, the contest against sacrilege and wickedness. There is no doubt as to the ascendancy at the present moment of the influence at the Vatican. The only question is, whether it can maintain itself, and whether it be in command of means adequate to its intentions.

The first inquiry that naturally suggests itself in connexion with such a policy, must be the condition of the Pontifical finances. Without money the Pope may still continue an immovable martyr; but must perforce become an impotent political agent. Now the available funds from public sources are easily calculated. The Pontifical exchequer can only be in receipt of so much of the usual revenue as had been collected before the Piedmontese invasion; and must therefore be minus one quarter of the year's

income. On the other hand, it has at its disposal the proceeds of the last loan, which was paid up to the amount of upwards of 50,000,000 of francs (5,000,000 of which are kept back by the bankers to guarantee the payment of the interest), and the "Peter's pence," which amount to near 10,000,000 of the same money. Against this treasure are to be put the expenses which have been seriously increased by charges for the army, and salaries of the officials expelled from the revolted provinces. The balance would leave in hand a sum of perhaps 20,000,000 francs as the whole fortune of the Papacy at the end of 1860. There are, however, reasons for supposing the Pope to be in command of other sums. It is impossible to acquire absolute certainty upon this point. Persons, however, who are the best able to watch the movements of the Roman Treasury, concur in the belief that the Pope has been put in possession of very considerable sums. This seems strongly corroborated by the absence of those symptoms of monetary difficulties which are inevitable on the approach of a stoppage of cash payment. Still these funds must be limited. It is impossible that they can flow on indefinitely, whatever may be their hidden source. Also the confidential advocates of the Pontifical Government do not presume to affirm its solvency to be insured longer than next spring. It is therefore very remarkable to find the Papal Government in the face of such prospects spontaneously launching into wilful expenditure. The Minister of War has quite recently given an order for thirty rifled cannon, and the most active exertions are being made at an immense expense to raise again a foreign force of several thousand men. Not even in the wildest transports of sublime conviction, is it possible for Monsignor Merode to be actuated with the notion that if abandoned by allies the Pope might successfully maintain himself in his capital with aid of such a force. Besides, there is not the least indication that the French garrison has any intention to deprive him of its guard. One is consequently driven to the conclusion that the ground for Monsignor Merode's measures must be looked for in a different direction. We are deeply convinced that they have been inspired by an infatuated conviction in an Austrian invasion, combined with a more or less general coalition against France. It is only with a view to such expectation that the self-confidence hitherto prevalent in the Vatican can become intelligible. The correspondence brought to light by the capture of Lamoricière's papers has fully revealed the complete military coalition which existed between the Vatican and Vienna. It is now also a matter put beyond doubt that the Emperor of Austria was at one moment firmly bent upon renewing hostilities. It is therefore very natural that the Pope's ministers should have taken measures in accordance with his probably very distinct

assurances. Up to the present moment we should certainly say that the Vatican has not yet abandoned the belief that a general war will break out against France. Whether Cardinal Antonelli himself be still sanguine of such an event, we do not venture an opinion. But we strongly suspect that the fanatical party—now in the ascendant—still reckon upon a general war for the coming spring, which is to end in as general a tide of reaction for their own especial benefit. If correct in their prognostics, they are infallibly right in their conclusions. But if spring should not inaugurate an overwhelming coalition for the re-establishment of overthrown Italian thrones, what will be the position with which the advisers of the Court of Rome will then find themselves obliged to deal?

As long as the French garrison continues, the Court of Rome will be able to reckon upon immunity from all danger of personal violence. There is not the slightest indication of any intention to deprive the Pope of a protection, whose withdrawal must instantaneously expose him to infallible coercion or expulsion. But there is likewise no reason to suppose that the military occupation of the French troops will be extended beyond its present limits. These embrace districts that virtually can contribute nothing to the Papal exchequer, being for the most part waste lands. The territory where the Pope's authority has of late been either re-established or confirmed by the presence of French troops can offer him absolutely no resources of any available kind. Their possession is the most barren of endowments. For the Pope, therefore, to derive benefit from his sovereignty, it is indispensable that he should be put in possession of additional territory. It requires no romantic conception of the French Emperor's views to come to the conclusion that such an act cannot enter into his designs. We have expressed, and still entertain, a profound conviction that the unity of Italy did not form part of his original scheme for its emancipation from Austrian supremacy. But now that—for the moment at least—the unitarian movement has irresistibly gained the upper hand, the clearest dictates of policy must impel the Emperor not to break for ever with Italy, his only possible active ally, in face of no countervailing advantage. For no arbitrary intervention for the mere purpose of preventing unions will suffice to obliterate the recollection of the past and enable the Emperor to regain the lost confidence of continental Courts; while the English alliance would be irremediably dashed to pieces by a proceeding of this nature. Moreover, whatever misgivings we may justly be disposed to entertain as to the Emperor's sincere adhesion to the doctrine of Italian union, his acts afford irrefutable proof of his decided disinclination to operate against it in the unpopular character of a champion of Pontifical restoration.

For had he been so disposed, recent circumstances certainly offered the most plausible pretexts and the most advantageous opportunities that can ever be expected. It depended merely on a significantly forbidding attitude being assumed by France, to make it impossible for Count Cavour to push the Piedmontese forces into the Roman States in the presence of an inevitable Austrian invasion of overwhelming force. At the same time this desertion of Piedmont would have furnished the French Emperor with an admirable and most specious occasion for satisfactorily breaking up the young strength of Italy in the collision he would have encountered as guardian of the Pope's person with the impetuous Garibaldi. He deliberately abstained, however, from this easy line of action. Moreover, when we come to look at matters closely, we discover that the recent extension of French occupation in the States of the Church, has been productive of benefit to the national movement. Undoubtedly this act has inspired profound local resentment in the populations directly affected by it, many of whom had already revolted in confident reliance upon distinctly implied assurances. But we cannot help coming to the conclusion, that the measure was supremely conducive to public good, when we find it to have mainly influenced the Pope not to leave Rome at a moment when his departure would have grievously aggravated the embarrassments of Count Cavour, who had to deal with the heavy task of Neapolitan confusion, and precisely at this conjuncture was for some days under the fear of hourly invasion from Austria. It is impossible to suppose that so crafty a politician as the French Emperor should have been blind to the practical consequences of his moves. It is also undeniable that if at present Victor Emmanuel's Government finds itself in a position to devote its undivided energy at home to the organization of Southern Italy, this is entirely due to the lucky postponement by the Pope of his moment for departure; a resolution which at the time was certainly assisted by the ostentatious arrival of large French reinforcements, that since have done nothing to restore the Pope to any virtual and effective authority. Hence we feel perfectly confident that at all events an intervention in behalf of the overthrown temporal powers of the Holy See does not form part of whatever secret designs the French Emperor may yet entertain with regard to the future of Italy. He is prepared indefinitely to extend to the Holy Father the same amount of protection as at present. This is, however, quite insufficient for providing him with the necessary revenue for his expenditure. The kernel of the problem as to the Pope's continued independence in its present sense must consequently lie within the compass of a simple calculation. Hardly the most sanguine adherent can venture to trust that the Pope will be en-

abled to defray permanently, through private contributions from the faithful, the expenditure that he still takes upon himself out of principle by no act to recognise a new government in the revolted provinces. The annual interest upon his debt alone amounts now to upwards of a million sterling. The evil day of insolvency is therefore inevitable, when it must come to an issue whether the Pope, repudiating obligations, will be in a position yet to continue the struggle from his old residence in unimpaired defiance, or whether he will wage it from some other point, or whether, finally, he will come to terms with his aggressors. In passing, let us only observe, that persons disposed to think it possible to avoid such extreme issues between the Papacy and the Italian people, are under a very mistaken apprehension of the latter's present temper. The issue can only be avoided in the event of some disastrous and unforeseen interference forcibly crushing the whole national movement; short of such an occurrence, nothing can get the better of the feeling which will strive to make of Rome the capital of the Italian State.

That the Pope should demean himself into clinging to his residence in Rome under the protection of French bayonets, after he has seen himself obliged to repudiate obligations, and has sunk publicly into the condition of a helpless and bankrupt shadow, we certainly think impossible. Also we find it very difficult to believe that with his particular pretensions and unambiguous declarations, the Pope should yet be brought to accept terms which to persons not imbued with the spirit of canonical prejudice might seem ample and advantageous. The Pope is willing to depend upon the private offerings of the faithful, but he has publicly declared on repeated occasions, with great solemnity, his irrevocable resolution never to become the stipendiary of governments. This determination must not be ascribed to mere personal passion. The individuality of Pius IX. has nothing more to do with it than that it happens to be the organ of the day for the inevitable expression of a logical and irresistible conclusion proceeding naturally from premises with which the Papacy has chosen to grow identified as with the spirit of its essence. For the Papacy the doctrine not to bow in homage to a State—not to concede dependence in any manner to a corporate body—is even a more inveterate sentiment than the idea of Divine right in royalty ever was for the most thoroughbred legitimist Sovereign in the purest days of unimpeachable monarchy. We should decidedly be of opinion that before the Holy See can be induced to depart so far from its traditional prejudices as to consent to accept State endowments, it will have to be put yet to a lengthened course of trials. It seems to us impossible to expect that the proverbially tenacious nature of the Court of Rome can be

induced to acquiesce in the signal infraction of its most cherished and distinctive principles, except after a series of events exhausting every contrivance for resistance, and precluding the shadow of hope for recovering the condition of former days. If we are correct in our appreciation of the temper of the Court of Rome, it then must follow that the Pope ought to be driven to take his departure the day he finds himself at the end of his means to defray any longer, in the manner he considers proper, the establishment of a Pontiff. That day is inevitable, as it is also inevitable that whenever that day occurs some resolution must be come to in the Vatican infallibly fraught with immense consequences to the Papacy and to Italy. The voice of human policy would on that occasion counsel the Pope to throw open the jealous gates of the Vatican stronghold, to meet in fair parley the adversaries of his former pretensions, and to abdicate his anomalous temporal sovereignty on conditions that might enable him in peace, dignity, and pomp to pursue the avocation of a Spiritual Pontiff. On the other hand, mysticism, hallucination, prejudice rendered venerable by the rust of tradition and personal passion, are likely to combine in impelling Pius IX. to take the opposite course. It is impossible to fix exactly the moment when the Pope will find himself in the predicament to have to come to a decision. It is only certain that there is no immediate want of money. He will undoubtedly be able to fulfil all his engagements for several months to come; some sanguine people say for an indefinite period. He is also firmly resolved to remain in Rome until the last extremities—as firmly as is possible with a man essentially feeble and vacillating. On this point he is, however, steadied by the same sentiment of duty, which, in certain events, would actuate him to do the contrary. We may therefore confidently reckon upon Pius IX. staying in Rome until the great coming crisis. The moment the Pope retires under such circumstances from Rome, this step will engulf him in that field of speculative resources to which we have alluded as not admitting of any mathematical test for accuracy of estimates. The intention involved in its adoption is, however, unmistakeably clear. In committing such an act the Pope would fling himself upon an appeal to the Roman Catholicism of the universe. The father of so many hundred millions of believers would wander forth in the conviction that the faithful will rise with devotional fervour to carry him back to the Pontifical residence he has seen himself expelled from by impious sacrilege. It will be a distinct and unequivocal appeal without circumlocution to the religious feelings of Catholic Christendom against the national movement of Italy, in behalf of the territorial interests of the Court of Rome. It lies beyond our scope to consider the many—hardly calculable—consequences with which such a step

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threatens to prove pregnant, for the serious modification of the simply religious authority of future popes. Let us only glance for an instant at its almost certain effects upon the immediate question: the recovery of temporal sovereignty for the papacy. In the first place, we are convinced that the notion of great Catholic reaction proceeding from fervent affection for the temporalities of the Holy See, and resulting in a victorious crusade against Victor Emmanuel or his successor, is an utterly visionary hallucination, only to be found in the brains of insane fanatics. We have pretty well the measure of what Catholic piety is up to, in "*Peter's pence*" and Lamoricière's discomfited army. Secondly, there are unmistakeable symptoms of a profound indisposition on the part of the bulk of the Italian clergy to allow itself to be dragged indefinitely into a vexatious contest with the ruling powers for the sake of interests that really do not affect it. For the Catholic priest out of Italy, the temporal establishment of the Pope is a conception that fits into his order of ideas, and practically touches him exactly of a piece with purgatory or any other received dogma. Not so with the priest in Italy, who is daily brought in contact with personal inconveniences, solely resulting from this obnoxious institution. Therefore, the bulk of the Italian clergy is well disposed to consider the matter of the Pope's temporalities as an affair that merely regards the Court of Rome. This feeling is participated in by the most conscientious divines, who have strongly blamed the bull of excommunication, by which the Pope identified himself in his spiritual capacity with his condition of sovereign, as an act outstepping the provisions of canon law. Moreover, it will rapidly spread, the day the vital interests of religion and the Church begin to suffer in Italy by the Pope's obstinately refusing, out of regard merely for his temporalities, to sanction nominations to vacant bishoprics in the territories now ruled by Victor Emmanuel. There are here very serious elements of schism fermenting which have extorted attention even from the Vatican. It is acknowledged that the inferior clergy is desisting from agitation against Victor Emmanuel. At the same time apprehension is becoming prevalent amongst religious corporations for their properties, menaced with imminent danger by a continuation of the present policy of the Holy See. For by far the greater portion of papal stock is in the hands of pious foundations that depend upon its proceeds for support. The growing anxiety thus produced amongst the best, the devoutest, and the widest sections of the Italian clergy, offers a chance for bringing about an accommodation between the Court of Rome and the adversaries of its sovereign existence. Should a vacancy occur in the Holy See before the inevitable day of financial crisis, we are inclined to think that the conclave

might be disposed to acknowledge the force of circumstances, and virtually sacrifice the Pope's temporalities' out of regard for the dangers menacing the Church. But with Pius IX. we apprehend it to be hopeless to expect that such calm considerations will be able to gain the upper-hand over the exaggerated views and personal passions he appears to have so largely contracted. He has compromised himself to such a degree as probably to become helplessly bound to that false point of honour which is so omnipotent with weak natures. Such, as far as we can contrive to decipher them, seems to be the prospects of the papal future, and such the circumstances Count Cavour has put himself in the condition probably to deal with. The position which he has assumed in the States of the Church promises the reduction of the Pope by blockade, a process quite as effectual and far more conclusive than the expeditious, but objectionably rough treatment to which Garibaldi would have subjected him.

This great work of Italian regeneration and constitution so steadily and skilfully conducted by Count Cavour, and in the main, it seems to us, decidedly favoured with encouraging auspices, is still by no means free from dangerous elements. These reside in the serious possibility of paramount disturbing causes, intervening forcibly to prevent the Italian Government from devoting its whole energies to the necessary work of organization and prematurely to precipitate it into attempts above its power. The dominions of the King of the Two Sicilies have been conquered by Victor Emmanuel; they have now to be made his own in the true sense of the word. That monarch's tenure over their populations, at least in the Neapolitan provinces, is for the moment at bottom little more than the tenure by which they were kept in quiet subjection by former masters. It is the tenure of success—of the superstitious awe that has no comprehension how not to bend humbly before the symbol of force. An accession of some millions of subjects of such temper can swell the muster-roll of a realm, but cannot add to its material strength. That will only be brought about when the dead and ignorant masses have been quickened into a new spirit capable of appreciating the boon of a revolution that has really been imposed upon them by the impetuosity of a patriotic partisan, and the efforts of a select circle of intelligent individuals. Until this great work of organization and development has made progress, there ought to be no delusion as to the fact, that his properly Neapolitan populations will be for Victor Emmanuel but a fair-weather possession, not to be relied on for any valuable contribution to the defence of the country, or for any capacity of resistance. Moreover, there exist in these Neapolitan territories widespread reactionary elements which, although they failed to make good a head in open struggle for

the Bourbon dynasty, are very capable of proving vexatiously obstructive to the new Government. These are to be found amongst an ancient aristocracy of large territorial possessions—of Spanish, if not feudal, traditions—and especially averse to see Naples stripped of autonomy. They may easily combine with a seditious priesthood to instigate the passions of wild populations into a course of outlawry and rapine, a political guerilla warfare, which, under the shape of brigandage, may for years harass the march of improving government. This is merely what one must be prepared to encounter from a people in a thoroughly inorganic condition, and therefore necessarily liable to be swayed in little knots, hither and thither, at the mercy of chance influences, into desultory outbreaks. It requires but a certain amount of time, together with sound administration, to get the better of such defects. If Count Cavour be only allowed the former, his work in regard to administration will be rendered easy. The profound neglect in which motives of suspicion made it a State maxim for the Bourbons to leave their provinces, must afford any new Government an excellent means of propitiating the gratitude of its subjects. The Neapolitan provinces, with the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, constitute so many isolated districts of local and specific barbarousness. For the inmates of Calabria, Apulia conveys the idea of a country as remote and strange as America; and the inhabitant of the Abruzzi never has had any intercourse with his countryman in Magna Grecia. The inevitable consequence of this truly Spanish system of stifling free movement and intercourse has been to repress the development of the material resources of a country abounding in untold wealth. The kingdom of Naples is a virgin country, teeming with unexplored capacity for agricultural and commercial prosperity. The minister, therefore, who will open roads through these often directly inaccessible districts, who will stimulate the turning to account of their resources, and who will thus make the inhabitants acquainted with higher social conditions, will confer boons that cannot fail to be repaid with hundredfold interest, in a general elevation, not merely of the wealth, but also the spirit of the country. In this way a new temper will be evoked in the provinces, endowed with a strength more than ample to counterbalance any dissatisfaction that may arise in the capital at the loss of a Court. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the same system of inorganic isolation which has passed over the provinces in regard to each other, has likewise broken any intimate connexion between them and the capital. For the townsman of Brindisi, Manfredonia, or Tarentum, it makes no difference whether the king resides at Naples or Turin, for all that he ever had directly to do with the presence of royalty. Therefore the

especial appeal of the Neapolitan *lazzarone*, or court-fed noble, on the score of the absence of a royal establishment, will not be calculated to move the heart of the country at large. These on the whole, therefore, not inauspicious conditions are to be found in a yet higher degree in Sicily. Here there can be no longing reminiscences of a departed Court, while a pronounced and pervading national feeling unites the population in spontaneous allegiance to the new Government, under the impulse of aversion to Neapolitan domination. The same Spanish neglect of attending to the comforts of the people affords also in this island—even more so than on the continent—an easy method of acquiring popularity. There are some politicians who persist in considering the recent manifestations in Sicily in behalf of Victor Emmanuel to be factitious. They would maintain that the mass, both of the people and the intelligent classes, cherish the thought of a separate State. We believe this opinion to proceed from an entire misapprehension of the present temper of the Sicilians. This long and persistent aspiration for a Sicilian kingdom, was but the expression of their intense desire to get rid of Naples at a period when the idea of one Italian State suggested itself to no one as practically possible. The proof that such a separatist party does not exist, at least to any extent, is afforded by the participation in the act of annexation of the leading men of Sicily, in birth, station, and intelligence. It is true that Garibaldi, by his timely arrival, accomplished the essential part of the military revolution, but the moral and political one is in Sicily a thoroughly national and popular deed, and not, as in the Neapolitan provinces, the work, at best, of select intelligence. Were a system of stringent centralization to be introduced, this would undoubtedly give rise to dissatisfaction which must become dangerous. There is, however, no notion of doing so; and the same plan which has been successfully adopted in Tuscany will be pursued in Sicily and Naples, and give general contentment. Therefore time—and merely time, if properly applied—seems to us all that is wanted to ensure the work of consolidation in Southern Italy. But will that requisite time for the development of the strength of Italy be granted to Count Cavour? Can the passions of populations in the flush of unparalleled success be restrained from becoming hurried into a rash and premature aggression of Venetia? This looming conflict is the cardinal danger of Italy. By the side of it all others dwindle into nothing. Deeply is it to be deplored that at this most critical hour of his country's fate, the virtuous Garibaldi should have been hurried into lending the authoritative accents of his voice to the instigation of these dangerous passions. It is certain that if the already liberated portions of Italy contrive to grow

firmly together, Venetia must eventually be drawn to the sister realm. But it is also hardly conceivable that the Italian levies should, within the period of a few months, prove already in a condition by themselves to achieve what all military men hold to be about the hardest possible conquest. It is to be hoped that the experience of fortifications won at Capua may yet have the effect of moderating the impetuous disposition of Garibaldi, and especially of his followers: for they are more difficult to deal with than the straightforward, simple-minded General. No person can be more profoundly convinced than Count Cavour of the impolicy of beginning an attack on Venetia, which in the first place would justly expose Italy to general animadversion for plunging Europe anew into the dark vortex of war; and in the second place, as he well knows, must constrain Italy again to purchase the assistance of the Emperor Napoleon, probably oblige it to follow in his wake, and undergo the hazardous consequences of ulterior designs which cannot fail to call up the formidable enmity of combined Europe. Certainly this shrewd politician is firmly bent by every effort within his power upon striving not to imperil the unseasoned timbers of his State by rashly striking them against this menacing shoal. It is a lucky circumstance that the firm establishment of regular authority in the districts contiguous to Venetia will facilitate the prevention of untoward collision with Austrian forces on the part of intemperate volunteer bands. The danger of a premature outbreak is considerably diminished by the difficulties thus interposed in the way of organizing auxiliary expeditions. Still our main hope for seeing the Italians maintain on this occasion the same wise instinct as hitherto, must repose upon the admirable confidence they have so steadily accorded to sound counsel, and which there is no symptom as yet of their withdrawing. The ephemeral possession of political authority by Bertani, Crispi, and their comrades, has in one sense been a happy event. The extraordinary application of power by these gentlemen has proved the most reasonable corrective to a growing disposition in favour of extreme men and extreme measures. This temporary elevation seems to have proved to the re-emerging Republicans the same destructive blow as that which in former days of Mazzinian conspiracies had been suffered by them from their criminal attempt to seize the forts of Genoa. Public opinion has been strongly impressed by the contrast offered between the party rancour, confusion, and senseless provisions which have marked the action of the revolutionary Government in Naples, and the concord, order, and admirable arrangement that have accompanied change in the rest of Italy under the auspices of the very men whom the authors of Neapolitan failures kept denouncing with the shrillness of

frantic virulence. Mazzini, under the cover of dummies, has again, at a critical hour, and under most advantageous circumstances, attempted to get a hold on Italy, and the break-down has been most complete. A little temper in dealing with susceptibilities seems to us all that is requisite to ensure to Count Cavour and his friends the maintenance of that influence they have hitherto enjoyed. Nor is that period of peaceful development so much to be desired for Italy calculated to put off into indefinite time the accomplishment of what is still indispensable for the constitution of the country. It is indeed impossible to prognosticate the march of events in regard to Venetia, as proceeding from causes within the Austrian Empire. But as concerns Rome, it is indisputable that the conversion of the territories now held by Victor Emmanuel from the condition of a problematical into those of a consolidated power must forthwith introduce an element calculated to exert a telling influence upon the evacuation of Rome by the French. Even in the days when it was admitted that their presence alone could offer any guarantee against anarchy in Rome, this occupation was such an eyesore to Europe, that public opinion and diplomacy together lost no opportunity in protesting against its continuance, and extorting a promise for its earliest possible cessation. It is plain that as soon as the Italians have established their claim to a national force, all Europe, in behalf of its own interests, will combine to urge the transfer to it from French hands of the important possession of Rome. The position of the French in that capital must thus, in a short time, become perfectly untenable in presence of a compact Italian power, unless they be prepared to defy all Europe, and venture to act as unmitigated aggressors.

After duly weighing all the contingencies that seem to us looming in the future, we are decidedly inclined to think that we may presume to entertain hopes for the successful consummation of that great work of regeneration which has been hitherto favoured with such a marvellous constellation of lucky chances. It is now happily put beyond doubt, that the final fate of Italy has become lodged in the hands of her children. Upon their prudence, their temper, and their sound patriotism will have to depend the perfection and conservation of what as yet is merely a tender creation in the brittleness of infancy. The priceless gem of independence, for which generations have sighed, is now virtually in the possession of the Italian people. Let them then prove a genuine appreciation of the matchless treasure now within their permanent grasp, by nursing its germ with that jealous husbandry which only fools can shrink from, and which must prove the infallible means of bringing to perfection the as yet incomplete virtues of its lustre. For this end demands will have to be imposed upon

the Italian people, of longer duration—and therefore probably more fretting—but certainly not so extreme, as those to which they have already so often responded with admirable spontaneity. A little perseverance, therefore—a little fortitude on the part of the longing Venetians—a little curb upon the impulses of impetuous affection on the part of their Italian brethren—and we may reckon upon seeing, within a few years, an united Italy, strong in its loyalty to the dynasty of Victor Emmanuel, with Rome for a capital—the Alps, Adriatic, and Mediterranean for its frontiers—the cherished home of a happy people, and a pledge to the liberty and progress of Europe.



ART. VI.—AMERICAN SLAVERY : THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

1. *The Impending Crisis of the South : how to meet it.* BY HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina. New York, 1860.
2. *A Journey in the Back Country.* BY FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED. . London. 1860.

THE founders of the American Republic looked upon slavery as an anomaly in their land, and condemned the institution in the most unequivocal terms. In the flush resulting from successful revolution, the selfishness of slaveholders was dormant, and the idea of perpetuating the national sin was never broached. The Declaration of Independence asserted the personal liberty of every human inhabitant of the Colonies. But when the great struggle had ceased, and the leading minds of the country sat in council to frame a constitution the pro-slavery feeling revived, and though seven of the States declared for freedom, six of them stood by slavery, and the blemish was permitted to remain. Self-interest was too powerful for Washington and his co-patriots; but though the system was tolerated, it was not sanctioned, and nowhere in the 'Constitution' can the word slave or any of its derivatives be found. The thing was abhorred, and was evidently looked upon as the plague-spot of the land, the eradication of which was only a matter of time; for it was thought by many that the institution would gradually die out after the extinction of the external trade in 1808 (provided for at the convention of 1787), which may account for the apparent lukewarmness of the friends of freedom at the moment when the death-blow to slavery.

might have been given. The fallacy of this supposition was discovered too late, and the evil, instead of abating, has rapidly gained ground.

The cause of the continued ascendancy of slavery has been the timid conduct of the representatives of the free States, who though they have occasionally made a great show of resistance, have always succumbed when the hard fighting has commenced. The history of the struggle demonstrates, that notwithstanding the Northern States have been nominally on the side of freedom, yet the multiplicity and discordancy of their political parties, and the generally feeble and time-serving nature of their policy, have enabled the united and better organized forces of the South, not only to secure the preservation, but the indefinite extension of their favourite institution. A great awakening, however, seems now to be taking place in the American mind, and henceforward the enemies of freedom, instead of waging war with a disunited and factious foe, will have to combat the combined forces of a comparatively new antagonist, in the shape of the recently formed organization, known as the Republican party—a party which though only of a few years' growth, is daily adding to its numbers and increasing its power. This section of American politicians is made up of the most intelligent and energetic members of the legion of factions which have hitherto obtained in the Union, and who have begun to see that unless a stop be put to the progress of slavery, and the intolerent bearing of the slaveholders, the free institutions of the North will soon be swamped by the cursed system of Southern bondage.

Not the least significant 'sign of the times' is the fact that Mr. Helper's "*Impending Crisis of the South*" has reached a circulation of one hundred and forty-five thousand copies! The estimate in which the work is held by the Southern Oligarchy was made known at the commencement of the last Congress by the repeated defeat of Mr. Sherman, the Republican candidate for the speakership of the House of Representatives, and the necessity that gentleman's friends were under of withdrawing his name after a furious contest of over two months' duration: Mr. Sherman, prior to his nomination, having somewhere passed a high eulogium upon Mr. Helper's work, recommending at the same time that it be circulated broadcast through the length and breadth of the Union.

The book is written by a native of North Carolina, and is dedicated to the 'non-slaveholding whites of the South'; and the object of the author is to demonstrate the superiority of free over slave institutions in their influence upon the moral, political, commercial, and agricultural progress of the country, and to propound what he considers to be the most feasible plan for securing the

emancipation of the black population of the South. The style of the production is peculiarly American. Its language and ideas alike are often extravagant, and its allusions sometimes very personal. The statistics and other facts are well arranged and fully authenticated ; but the conclusions of the author are not always correct, and occasionally exhibit a want of practical political knowledge.

The case is different with the second work placed at the head of this article. Mr. Olmsted's arguments are based upon facts derived from the same sources as those of Mr. Helper, but his conclusions are more logical, and his opinions less extreme. He views slavery and its effects with the eye of a practical agriculturist, and though he arrives at the same conclusions as Mr. Helper with respect to the unprofitableness of the institution, he is more moderate in his language, conciliatory towards the South, and more practical in his remedial suggestions. In point of literary merit, "A Journey in the Back Country" is incomparably superior to "The Impending Crisis of the South."

So far as nature is concerned, the capabilities of the present Slave States are much superior to those of the Free States ; but in every respect the progress of the latter has far outstripped that of the former. The marked contrast exhibited between the condition of the Northern and Southern States has not failed to force itself upon the attention of all European visitors to the great Republic, and there seems to be no doubt that slavery is the cause, directly or indirectly, of the backward state of things in the Southern portion of the Union.

The population of the original thirteen States in 1790 was 3,639,005, of which 1,852,506 were inhabitants of the South, and 1,786,499 inhabitants of the North, showing a difference in favour of the Slave States of 66,007 persons. The geographical extent of the Free States was 124,380 square miles, and of the Slave States 212,685 square miles, exhibiting a balance in favour of the latter of 88,305 square miles. During the subsequent sixty years, whilst the population of the seven Northern States has added 5,943,063 persons to its numbers, or 332 per cent., the six Southern ones have added only 2,687,452 persons, or 145 per cent. ; the total loss to the South being 3,255,611 persons !

Since the date of the "Constitution" eighteen new States have been admitted into the Union, of which nine have allied themselves to the Free States, and nine to the Slave States ; but, though the number of States have been equally divided, slavery has succeeded in securing the largest extent of territory ; the gain to the North being only 488,217 square miles, against a Southern gain of 688,763 square miles. But in population, the

North, much to the annoyance of the slaveholders, has gained 3,821,946 persons; the number of inhabitants in 1850 being 18,434,922 in the Free States, but only 9,612,976 in the Slave States; for the former 21.91 to the square mile, but for the latter only 11.29.

Freedom abhors slavery, and hence it is that whilst the *native* population of the North has not perhaps increased in a greater ratio than that of the South, the former has had the entire benefit, or nearly so, of the immense and continuous European immigration. The natural tendency of immigration is to spread itself over the country; but the tide is as effectually turned back from the South, as if the margin of the Free States was on the Gulf of Mexico. Not only is the South suffering because of this negative effect of her evil ways, but her labour supply is thinned by the positive emigration of her own people.

According to the last census there were 609,223 natives of the Slave States residing in the North; whilst there were only 205,924 natives of the Free States residing in the South; giving a balance against the Slave States of 403,299 persons! Dr. Duffner, of Virginia, drew the attention of his countrymen to this state of things some ten or twelve years ago, remarking that the multitudes who shunned the regions of slavery and settled in the free countries of the West, were generally the most industrious and enterprising of their white citizens. Professor B. S. Hedrick, of North Carolina, who was recently deprived of his post in the university, and expelled his native State, because of his anti-slavery notions, has testified that more than one half of his friends and neighbours have left the State during the period of his recollection, "knowing as they did that free and slave labour could not both exist and prosper in the same community."

This state of things will continue so long as the idea of labour is so degraded as it is by being associated with slavery. When any species of labour is once performed by slaves, it is entirely deprived of that dignity and honour which of right belongs to it; and so we find that in the Southern States of America the white man "disdains to work like a nigger;" "no kind of labour is free or respectable," but is "low and unfit for freedom;" and no matter how moral, or intelligent, or well-to-do in the world a man may be, he is "accounted as nobody," in either social or political circles, unless he is the owner of a few negroes.

A man's standing, influence, or respectability is conventionally estimated by the number of pounds sterling he can command in England or dollars in North America; but by the number of slaves he holds in the Southern States. The most insignificant white man will live in the most penurious style in order to save money for investment in the favourite "property;" for such a

movement raises him from the condition of "white trash" to the status and society of Southern gentlemen.

Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, has declared, that out of the 300,000 whites of his native State, there are not more than 50,000 whose industry is adequate to procure for them honestly such support as every white person feels himself entitled to. Similar testimony is borne by Wm. Gregg, who states that slavery monopolizes the whole of the capital, enterprise, and intelligence of the State, and that a large portion of the white population "are wholly neglected, and suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest;" and the Hon. J. H. Lumpkin speaks of the poor whites of Georgia as "degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant;" uneducated and minus any just appreciation of character.

But we are told that the climate of the Southern States is uncongenial to the European races, and that it is especially adapted to the constitution of the negro. This notion is almost as current in England as it is in America, but no statement is more untrue, for the testimony of travellers and the facts obtained by the census prove the contrary. On the average of years the proportion of deaths to the number of persons living is positively more in the Northern than in the Southern States. For instance, the mortality in 1850 in the seven original Free States was 1 in 68·78 persons living, but in the six old Slave States only 1 in 78·62 ! The highest average in the Free States being 1 in 81·63 in Pennsylvania, and the highest in the Slave States 1 in 91·93 in Virginia ! Taking the whole of the present States, inclusive of Vermont and Wisconsin, where the average mortality was 1 in 100·13 and 1 in 105·82 respectively, the figures are 72·91 North and 71·82 South. Dr. Nott, of Charleston, ascertained, from personal observations and inquiries, that for six years the average mortality in that city, for all ages, was 1 in 51 ; and that whilst the deaths amongst the whites averaged only 1 in 58, those amongst the blacks reached 1 in 44 ! We often hear it said that the white man cannot labour at any out-door employment in the Slave States owing to the excessive heat and unhealthiness of the climate ; but we find that in 1850, out of a white population of 6,184,477 persons of all ages, there were 1,019,020, *males over 15 years of age engaged in out-door labour*, of which 803,052 were employed in agricultural pursuits. Some of the best qualities of the great staple cotton are produced upon plantations worked by German settlers in Texas—the most southern of the Slave States. Mr. Olmsted repudiates the

"Common and popular opinion that the necessary labour of cotton tillage is too severe for white men in the cotton-growing climate. As I have said before, I do not find the slightest weight of fact to sustain

this opinion. The necessary labour and causes of fatigue and vital exhaustion attending any part or all of the processes of cotton culture does not compare with that of our July harvesting ; it is not greater than attends the cultivation of Indian corn in the usual New England method."

Throughout the South the heavy work connected with the construction of railways, street paving, building, &c., is performed by white people. One third of the total slave population is employed in the cultivation of cotton, and there are but few planters who maintain that the occupation would be too fatiguing for the white man. The only articles about which there is any doubt are sugar and rice ; but the production of both these growths has greatly fallen off of late, and it would be no very serious loss to the Union if their cultivation was abandoned. The value of the rice exported in 1854 was 2,634,127 dols., but in 1858 only 1,870,578 dols. ; of sugar, 690,744 dols. in 1854, but only 575,786 dols. in 1858 ; and of molasses, 130,920 dols. in the former year, and 105,893 dols. in the latter. We conclude, therefore, that the slaveholders must find some other reason than that of climate for the backward state of their land, and the degraded condition of their free population.

Despotism and knowledge are antagonistic. Slavedom consequently takes care that its white citizens do not become too intelligent. The number of actual slaveholders according to the last census was only 347,525, and of these more than one half held *under five* slaves each. It seems strange, therefore, that the six and a half millions of free whites should be so completely under the control of so small a clique. The great secret is the power which the slaveocracy has in interdicting all knowledge and in keeping the poor whites in a state of ignorance of the political movements going on. All the information the white population receives comes either in the shape of harangues from the slaveholders themselves, or through the tainted medium of Southern newspapers ; for Northern political publications unless of the right odour are prohibited from entering the Slave States, and the seizure of newspapers, and sometimes letters, from the Free States, by the post-office authorities, is a thing of weekly occurrence.

To speak of a free press in the South is a misnomer, for "free" opinions of any shade are not tolerated. A considerable portion of Mr. Helper's book was written in Baltimore, but a legal provision against the "making, printing, &c.," of any paper, "having a tendency to excite discontent or stir up insurrection amongst the people of colour of this State, &c.," rendered it impossible for the author to publish in Maryland. The effect of this system of tyranny is seen in the census tables relating to literature and

education. The number of newspapers and periodicals in the Free States is 1790, and their annual circulation 334,146,281 copies; whilst in the Slave States there are only 704 publications, with a circulation of only 81,038,693 copies. If we leave out the slaves, we find that the above figures give nearly 25 newspapers, &c., to each inhabitant of the North, but only about $12\frac{1}{2}$ to each inhabitant of the South! Again, the number of public libraries in the Free States is 14,911; in the Slave States, 695! the number of volumes in the former, 3,888,234, and in the latter, 649,577! Once more, the number of schools in the North in 1850 was 62,433, or one for every 215 persons, but in the South only 18,507, or one for every 346 persons, exclusive of 3,200,000 slaves; the number of teachers, 72,621 in the North, against 19,307 in the South; the number of pupils in the former, 2,769,901, but only 581,801 in the latter! No wonder, therefore, that 8·37 per cent. of the free population of the South over 20 years of age are incapable of reading or writing against only 2·40 per cent. in the North! In New York State the percentage is 1·87, but in proud Virginia 19·90!

Any attempt to improve the condition and prospects of the poor white is met with either covert or open opposition from the predominant power. Many of the more liberal minded of the Southerners have advocated the encouragement of native manufactures in the Slave States, for the double purpose of giving employment to the white population, and rendering the people at large less dependent upon the dear produce of the North. The great aim of slavery is to prevent the concentration of the white inhabitants. The oligarchy dreads the effect which would be produced by the existence of large communities of intelligent freemen such as exist in the North, and therefore southern manufactures are discouraged.

"There is in some quarters a natural jealousy of the slightest innovation upon established habits; and because an effort has been made to collect the poor and unemployed population into our new factories, fears have arisen that some evil would grow out of the introduction of such establishments amongst us. The poor man has a vote as well as the rich man, and in our State the number of the former will largely over-balance the latter. So long as these poor but industrious people can see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they will be content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied that they are *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he."*

In 1850, the number of persons engaged in manufacturing pursuits in the South was only 161,733, and the capital invested

* "Manufactures in South Carolina," by J. H. Taylor.

about 19,800,000*l.*; whilst in the North there were 780,576 persons, and 89,600,000*l.* so employed. Hence, as Mr. Helper remarks in his characteristic style:—

"It is a fact well known to every intelligent Southerner that we are compelled to go to the North for almost every article of utility and adornment; that almost everything produced at the North meets with ready sale, while at the same time there is no demand, even amongst our own citizens, for the produce of Southern industry." "The North is the Mecca of our merchants, and to it they must and do make two pilgrimages per annum—one in the spring, and one in the fall. We want Bibles, brooms, buckets, and boots, and we go to the North; we want pens, ink, paper, wafers, and envelopes, and we go to the North; we want shoes, hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, and pocket-knives, and we go to the North; we want toys, primers, schoolbooks, fashionable apparel, machinery, medicines, tombstones, and a thousand other things, and we go to the North for them all." "In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humoured with Northern gewgaws; in youth we are instructed in Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our 'wild oats' on Northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our wealth, energies, and talents in the dishonourable vocation of entailing our dependence upon our children and our children's children, and, to the neglect of our own interest and the interest of those around us, in giving aid and succour to every department of Northern power; in the decline of life we remedy our eyesight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes; in old age we are drugged with Northern physic; and finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric, are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorized with a Northern slab!"

As it is with manufactures so it is with public works. Railways, canals, and river navigation are necessary agents in the proper development of the natural resources of any country, and in giving a healthy impetus to manufactures and commerce; besides which, their construction and maintenance gives permanent employment to a large number of officials and labourers. The Free States appreciate the utility of these agencies, and accordingly we find that in 1854 they had 3682 miles of canals, and in 1857, 17,855 miles of railways; whilst the Slave States possessed only 1110 miles of canals, and 6859 miles of railways in the same years! With these facts before us, we are not astonished to find that whilst the receipts at the Post Offices of the Free States *exceeded* the disbursements by 2,062,430 *dols.*, the receipts in the Slave States *fell short* of the cost of the mail service to the extent of 832,755 *dols.*!

"But we are not a manufacturing community," says the Southerner, "our forte is agriculture. In this respect, at all events,

the North is far behind us. Cotton is king!" In 1858, just after the great panic of 1857 had blown over, Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, delivered an oration on the benefit which the South had conferred upon the world in general, but Great Britain and Yankeedom in particular. The stoppage of cotton planting for three successive years could be borne, he said, without any very great inconvenience by the South; but such a movement would be the ruin of Old England and the whole civilized world! The panic of 1857 was a terrible catastrophe, but would have been much worse in its effects had not the planters sold their cotton crop for 35,000,000 dols. less than it was worth! And so forth. But figures refuse to support this bombast, and so far from cotton being "king," one article alone of Northern produce exceeds in value that of the six principal growths of the South, cotton included. Hay is king! Here are the facts:—

Hay Crop in the Free States, 1850.

12,690,982 tons, at \$11 20 c. per ton \$142,138,998

Sundry Products of the Slave States, 1850.

Cotton	2,445,779 bales,	at \$32 00 c.	\$78,264,928
Tobacco	185,023,906 lb.	" 0 10	18,502,390
Rice(rough)	215,313,497 "	" 0 04	8,612,539
Hay	1,137,784 tons	" 11 20	12,743,180
Hemp	34,673 "	" 112 00	3,883,376
Cane Sugar	237,233,000 lb.	" 0 07	16,599,310
			138,605,723

Balance in favour of the Free States (731,099l.) . . \$3,533,275

If we take the *total* animal and agricultural products, the result is 103,981,742 dols., or 21,662,863l. against the Slave States.

These figures disprove the idea, which is very prevalent at the South, that the soil of the North is sterile and unproductive, and that the Free States are mainly dependent upon slave produce for their breadstuffs and other provisions. The fact is, that Northern agricultural produce may be seen exposed for sale in almost every town and village of the South.

If from the deficit of 21,662,863l. on the part of the South, we deduct the produce of the extra 2,755,169 acres under cultivation in the Free States—viz., 5,635,299l., we have a nett balance against the South of 16,029,654l.: the average value per acre of produce being 9·80 dols. in the North, but only 8·40 dols. in the South.

Of the whole territory comprised in the Southern States, only 10 per cent. is improved, against nearly 45 per cent. in the Northern States; and whilst the land thus occupied is worth only, on the average, 6 dols. per acre in the Slave States, it is worth 19 dols. per acre in the Free States! The average size of the farms in

the South is much larger than the average extent of Northern farms; but the value of the implements and machinery upon each farm averages only 36 cents in the former, against 77 cents in the latter! This fact is a most important phase of the subject. It is notorious that slavery and the laws which prohibit the mental culture of the Negro have so degraded his nature as to render the introduction of improved agricultural practice and machinery impossible. The tendency of the slave system is to render the labourer indolent, and wasteful of both time and materials. The negro is perfectly mindless, and altogether incapable of receiving instruction in the higher branches of scientific farming. It was so in the West Indies prior to emancipation, and it is so in the Southern States of America now, and hence we do not wonder at the facts exhibited in the following table compiled by Mr. Helper from the Census returns:

Actual Crops per Acre, on the average.

		Free States.	Slave States.
Wheat . .	bushels per acre . . .	12 . . .	9
Oats . .	ditto . . .	27 . . .	17
Rye . .	ditto . . .	18 . . .	11
Indian corn	ditto . . .	31 . . .	20
Irish potatoes	ditto . . .	125 . . .	113

Were it not for the constant calling in of new territory, the South would cut a still poorer figure than the above statement represents, for though the average product of wheat in the whole of the Slave States is 9 bushels per acre, that in Virginia, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, reaches only 7 bushels! It is from this cause that the old Slave States find it more profitable to breed negroes for the New States farther South and West, than employing them in the cultivation of their own soil, and also accounts for the strenuous efforts of the slaveholders to increase the extent of their dominions. For it is only by the transfer of their slaves from the impoverished soils of the North and East, to the virgin lands of the South and West, that the Southerners are at all enabled to approach the North, and even then the latter is far ahead. The following table furnishes particulars of the produce of the two principal growths of the twenty-seven States which existed in 1840, compared with the produce of the same States in 1850:—

	WHEAT.				
	1840. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.		1850. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.
Free States .	54,413,502	. . 65		66,358,811	. . 70
Slave States .	30,042,549	. . 35		27,861,050	. . 30
Total . . .	84,456,051	100		94,219,861	. . 100

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INDIAN CORN.				
	1840. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.	1850. Bushels.	Per cent. of whole.
Free States .	123,342,958	. . 33	233,036,102	. . 41
Slave States .	251,504,343	. . 67	340,966,597	. . 59
Total . . .	374,847,301	. . 100	574,002,699	. . 100

Here it will be perceived that the Slave States in 1840 produced 35 per cent. of the total yield of wheat, but only 30 per cent. in 1850; and that during the ten years, whilst the crops of the Free States exhibit an *increase* of about 22 per cent., those of the Slave States show a *decrease* of 7 per cent. In 1840, the latter produced 67 per cent. of the total crop of Indian corn, but only 59 per cent. in 1850: the increase in the North being about 88 per cent., but in the South only about 35 per cent. What becomes then of the boasting of Southern agriculturists? The only growth about which they have any room for exultation is cotton, but it is clear that if that fibre could be grown in the North, the result would speedily render the cultivation of the plant in the South, or at all events in the older States, unprofitable.

So, then, we find that in whatever respect we compare the condition and progress of the two great sections of the American Union, the superiority of freedom is made clear and unmistakeable. Statistics prove slavery to be synonymous with idleness and waste; the fosterer of poverty, and ignorance, and crime; the enemy of social and religious progress, and the retarder of political advancement. Northern population increases over 3 per cent. per annum faster than Southern, and its present density is 100 per cent. greater. The Free States have 50 per cent. more of improved lands, and though their soil is less fertile than that of the Slave States, the yield per acre of product common to both is 50 to 75 per cent. greater; and the total agricultural and manufactured products of the North are 60 per cent. above the value of those of the South.

So apparent and startling have these truths become, that they have already begun to occupy the attention of the more intelligent slaveholders and non-slaveholders of the South, and at the present time there is far from being that unity of Southern politicians which has hitherto been the great characteristic of slavery. The discordant elements of opposition brought to bear against the Republican candidate for the Presidency at the late election were evidence of Democratic or pro-slavery disunion. Southern agriculturists are becoming better acquainted with the superior farming of the North, and have traced that superiority to the independence and mental cultivation of the labourers, whose freedom carries with it social and other responsibilities unknown to the slave, and far more stimulating

than the lash. They also perceive that whilst the slave cares little for either the quantity or the quality of the work which he performs, the self-interest of the freeman prompts him to accomplish the greatest results in the least possible time and the best possible manner. From this cause there are many Southerners who are heartily tired of their position, and who would willingly give their support to any measures calculated to relieve them.

There are great obstacles, however, in the path of reform, and the magnitude of the difficulties to be encountered, has and does prevent many citizens of the South from speaking their minds on the subject. "Something must be done," has become a stereotyped phrase, and "what is to be done?" a hackneyed query. All sorts of theories, practical and impractical, have been suggested. Amongst the latter is Mr. Helper's "How to meet it." When he advocates thorough organization on the part of Southern non-slaveholders; the discontinuance of the practice adopted by many of them of *hiring* slave instead of free labour; and advises the greatest possible encouragement to free white labour, he is wise and reasonable. But when he recommends the advocates of liberty to have no social or religious fellowship with slaveholders; no patronage of them as merchants, or lawyers, or physicians; and no recognition of them "except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals," he is intolerant as well as irrational, and lowers himself in the estimation of all soberminded men. His suggestion that the slaveowners should be compelled to liberate their slaves, not only without compensation, but forced to pay for "their transportation to Liberia, or their colonization in Central or South America, or their comfortable settlement within the boundaries of the United States," forms the foundation of the most utopian theory of enfranchisement we have met with, and we cannot feel surprised that the promulgation of such a scheme has called forth the indignation which it has in the South, for it requires no great depth of knowledge or political sagacity to demonstrate its utter absurdity and entire impracticability.

Mr. Olmsted's views on this question are moderate and constitutional. He abhors slavery, proves it to be a great drawback to Southern progress, but at the same time points out the almost insuperable difficulties which stand in the way of emancipation. Still he is not without hope as to the future.

"It seems to me," he says, "to be possible that a method of finally emancipating the slaves and of immediately remedying many of the evils of slavery, without an annihilation of that which the State has made property, or conceded to be held as property, may be eventually based on these accepted facts: That a negro's capacities, like a horse's, or a dog's, or a white man's, for all industrial purposes, including cotton-growing and cotton-picking, must be enlarged by a voluntary, self-

restrained, self-urged, and self-directed exercise of those capacities. That a safely-conducted cultivation and education of the capacities of the slaves will, of necessity, increase the value of the slaves, and that the slaves may thus be made to pay, year by year, for their own gradual emancipation."

No scheme of emancipation can or will be entertained by even the least conservative of the Slave States which does not *in some way* provide for the compensation of the masters. The negro is the principal species of 'property' of the Southerners. The census of 1850 placed the average value per head of the slave population at 500 dols., or about 104*l.* ; since then the 'article' has been considerably enhanced in price owing to the growing scarcity of labour in the Cotton States, and 750 dols. or about 165*l.* is now considered to be a fair average. At this rate, and estimating the numbers of slaves at 4,165,000, their money value is 647,000,000*l.* ! Total and immediate emancipation without compensation, therefore, is impossible.

But, independently of the monetary crisis which would be the result of the adoption of such a measure, there would be the further difficulty of dealing with a mass of beings in a state of comparative barbarism—the negroes, *from no fault of their own*, but owing to the prohibitory laws and pernicious influence of slavery—being wholly uneducated, and altogether without any notion of responsibility. The slaves must be educated, civilized, and Christianized, before they are sent into the world to seek their own livelihood ; otherwise, freedom would be the ruin of the South, and a curse to the slaves themselves.

"The field-hand negro is, on an average, a very poor and very bad creature, much worse than I had supposed before I had seen him and grown familiar with his stupidity, indolence, duplicity, and sensuality. He seems to be but an imperfect man, incapable of taking care of himself in a civilized manner, and his presence in large numbers must be considered a dangerous circumstance to a civilized people. A civilized people, within which a large number of such creatures has been placed by any means not within its own control, has claims upon the charity, the aid, if necessary, of all other civilized peoples in its endeavours to relieve itself from the danger which must be apprehended from their brutal propensities, from the incompleteness of their human sympathies—their inhumanity, from their natural love of ease, and the barbaric want of forethought and providence which would often induce desperate want among them. Evidently the people thus burthened would have need to provide systematically for the physical wants of these poor creatures, else the latter would be liable to prey with great waste upon their substance."—*Olmsted*.

A wholesale expatriation, which is the suggested remedy of some writers, would be impossible, and if possible would be im-

politic. The negroes are there, and there they will have to remain for two very potent reasons; first, that the majority would object to removal, and secondly, that their labour is required for the cultivation of the land. With gradual emancipation, the prejudices of caste would be overcome by degrees—the lowest types of the African would die out, and the remainder, through the mulatto population which is now numbered by hundreds of thousands, would in time disappear by admixture with the white races.

Again, neither would any plan of manumission be successful which did not provide for the prospective liberation of the present generation of slaves. The Northern States mostly procured the freedom of their negroes by declaring all born after a specified date to be free, but the carrying out of the same idea in the present Slave States would be impracticable. When the Free States introduced their emancipatory measures, the amount of their slave population was a mere fraction compared with that of the South at the present time. The total number of slaves in the North in 1790 did not reach 50,000, and they were spread over a large extent of territory; but the Southerner has to deal with 4,165,000, so concentrated as to outnumber the white population in some districts. It is clear, then, that abolitionists to be successful must provide not only for the freedom of the future progeny of the slaves, but must likewise make provision for the liberation of the negroes now in bondage. It is evident from the frequent occurrence of insurrections in all parts of the South, that the Government experiences considerable difficulty in its endeavours to preserve the peace. The slaves, there can be no doubt, are hoping and waiting for a favourable opportunity to shake off their chains, and spend the remainder of their days as free men. To tell them, therefore, that they must be content to remain in bondage all their lives, but that their children shall be free, would only tend to exasperate the character of their position, and render them more miserable than ever. They would not be slow in perceiving that they were held as slaves, not by right, but by might. Hitherto supported by hope, they have borne their bonds with wonderful patience, but now deserted by that 'anchor of the soul,' they would be driven to distraction, and, by their unrestrained feelings, forced into a terrible rebellion: a rebellion of such a magnitude and determined a character, as could only be carried on by men having everything to gain and nothing to lose.

We believe that slavery is bad; a sin against "the laws of God and the dictates of nature," but still a sin for which the *present* generation of slaveholders cannot be held entirely responsible. It should not be forgotten that the institution is an en-

tailed one; that many of the present inheritors of property in negroes would rather have had their money invested in some other and more safe security; that though some "sell out," all cannot do so. It should also be remembered that it is a prevailing opinion, and even religious belief, that slavery is a divine institution; ministers of the Gospel preach this doctrine, and ethnologists are found who declare it to be in accordance with the laws of nature, and though many professing Christians denounce the buying and selling of negroes, they do not consider the *holding* of slaves to be any infringement of the spirit of Christianity. Even in the Free State of New York, at a late ministerial convention, a motion declaring the *holding* of negroes to be equally as criminal as the traffic in slaves, was rejected on the grounds that the passing of such a resolution might give offence to the Southern brethren!

That the negro has no right to be *held* even in bondage, we believe to be a cardinal truth; but still, in the present condition of things, the attempt to enforce that truth by means of extreme abolition measures would be futile; the whole South, slave-holding and non-slaveholding, would oppose the movement. In fact the attempt *never will* be made by the Slave States themselves, and *never can* be made by either the Federal Government or any other external agency; for each State is supreme in the management of its own internal affairs, and any infringement of the "States' rights" principle, no matter for how laudable an object, would be indignantly resented.

The accomplishment of emancipation, it will be seen then, is no easy matter. But still the object can be attained if the proper means be adopted. We have no exclusively infallible panacea to offer to our American friends, but there are a few points which are worthy of consideration, and which, if properly attended to, would have no small influence in bringing about the "consummation devoutly to be wished."

To a considerable extent the South will have to work out its own redemption, but still the assistance of the North and the Federal Government will be indispensable. Though the National Congress cannot interfere with slavery as it is, it can prevent any further spread of the evil by securing freedom to the various territories of the Union, and by refusing to admit any future State into the Confederation, with other than free institutions. Slavery, limited, would be more easily dealt with than slavery unlimited. Had the politicians of the North done their duty in times past, the "institution" would now have been confined to the old States; it is the diffusion of the system which has made it so formidable.

The restriction of the territory of "niggerdom" would be a fatal

blow to the internal slave-trade, and an important step towards its entire abolition. It is this domestic commerce which is the life of slavery. The old States are the producers; the new States the consumers of negroes. Without the traffic, slave labour would be unremunerative in both sections of the South. The breeding-pens of Virginia, North Carolina, &c., would be closed for ever, and slavery, already unprofitable for agricultural purposes, would speedily die out.

In the Cotton States the advance in the price of labour has been so rapid of late as to have made considerable encroachments upon the profits of the planters; and were it not for the great fertility of the soil, and the recent high price of the staple, the production of the fibre would have been much curtailed.

The closing of the Northern negro marts would deprive the Cotton States of a labour supply equal to 30,000 slaves annually! The effect may be easily imagined. The slaveholders would begin to see the hopelessness of their position, and in the majority of cases would no longer oppose emancipation as an idea, but be willing to assist in the introduction of ameliorative measures.

The path of reform would now be clear, and if difficult, would have the advantage of being straight. The first step towards the removal of the evil should be the total prohibition of slave-dealing in any and all of its phases. No slave should be sold except with the consent of the negro interested, who, there is no doubt, might turn a transfer of his person considerably to his own advantage, either by agreeing with his new master for a limited instead of a life-period of servitude, or by receiving a money bounty to be invested towards purchasing his entire emancipation.

The erroneous and odious principle which treats the negro as "property" must be eradicated. No man has a right to hold "property" in the person of his fellow man. The negro is a man, not a thing. His labour may be the subject of barter—not himself. "He is not a product of industry, but himself a producer." Henceforward the use of the term "slave" should be discontinued, and the negro denominated, in the phraseology of the "Constitution," as a "person held to hire," "held to labour," &c.; having their conduct ruled by the same laws which touch the condition of apprentices. This would raise the status of the black, and be the means of rendering labour in general more honourable in the estimation of the white population.

The obligations between masters and servants should be no longer one-sided and arbitrary, but mutual: the negro rendering service to the farmer or planter in return for protection, comfortable board and lodging, and education, religious and secular. Instead of the present forcing system, a scale of piece-work should

be adopted ; the servant to be paid for any extra exertion, the money to be appropriated by himself towards the purchase of his liberty. By the introduction of some such a plan as this, the most intelligent of the slaves would become free in a very short space of time ; whilst the least intelligent and most indolent would probably continue in a state of apprenticeship throughout their lives ; and the difficulty of dealing with a multitude of half-civilized Africans, which would arise if they were liberated *en masse*, would be obviated.

Under the code suggested, both the contracting parties should be amenable to the State authorities. The law should be ordered so as to secure the master his full due, but at the same time to see that the rights of the negro be respected. Anything in the shape of cruelty to the servant should be severely punished,—in extreme or oft-repeated cases, by the emancipation of the victim. The domestic relations amongst the negroes must be respected, and any offence in this direction be met by the same penalties provided for the protection of the white man.

In the meantime, the North must lay aside its prejudice, give up its extreme abolition opinions, and be more temperate and less personal when speaking of the slaveholders. To prove their sympathy with Southern reform, the Free States must see that their own coloured people are more respected than they are or have been. All political, civil, and social disabilities must be removed. The prejudice against the African is much stronger in the North than in the South. Everything is done that can be done to keep the negro in ignorance and subjection. He is shut out from every employment except the most menial. His children must not associate with the children of white men. He is refused admittance to "white" churches. He is excluded from the theatre, and other places of amusement attended by white people. Every indignity is offered to him. In fact, to such an extent is this intolerant bearing of the white man carried, that there are instances on record of negroes going South and choosing slavery as the happier mode of existence. So long as the disabilities of the negro in the Free States are so many and so great, the abolition preaching of the North will be looked upon as so much solemn irony. But let the position of the coloured man be respected ; let him be treated as a man and a brother, and the South would have some grounds for believing the North to be sincere in its denunciations of slavery. Such an union of the States would then take place as has never yet been experienced, and the efforts of the South to relieve itself of its domestic troubles would be ably and successfully assisted by the Federal Government.

Since the above was written, Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, has been elected President of the United States. The result, though long anticipated on both sides of the Atlantic, has caused unprecedented excitement throughout the American confederacy, especially in the Slave States: the avowed anti-slavery platform of the Republican party having created considerable distrust in the South. During the Presidential canvass, the slaveholders endeavoured to terrify the North into submission by the threat of disunion. The cry was an old one, and had formerly been most successful; but this time it fell dead upon the ears of the Free States: right has triumphed, and freedom has proved victorious. But the Democracy abhors defeat, and is now more unmanageable than ever. Led by a band of fanatical demagogues smarting under the pain caused by the deprivation of political prestige and patronage, a few, and only a few, of the Southern States continue to exhibit demonstrations of treason to the Union. South Carolina, long discontented, has commenced the preliminaries of dissolution. The Federal banner has been degraded, and the Palmetto flag now flaunts in its stead. The nucleus of a revolutionary army has been formed; and the State Government has announced its intention of withdrawing from the Union. Other States have been sounded as to their willingness to join the insurgent community; and it has not been difficult to find a few of their leading politicians ready to associate themselves with the rival confederacy. But, alas for Democracy! the South is no more united now than it was before the election of Lincoln. The same elements of discord which broke up the Charleston and Baltimore conventions, and brought forth three candidates to oppose the Republican nominee, still exist; and though there may be some approach to unanimity in South Carolina, the case is far otherwise in the majority of the Slave States. While out of the total electoral vote of 183, the North gave Lincoln 169, and only 7 each to Bell and Douglas, the South divided its 119 votes in the proportion of 38 to Bell and the Union, and 87 to Breckinridge and ultra-pro-slavery; and besides this large element of dissent from extreme democracy, there is a considerable undercurrent of moderation existing even in those States which have declared for Breckinridge. The general opinion seems to be, that the storm will blow over in a month or two; and, were it not for the prejudicial effect which the excitement has had upon monetary and commercial affairs for the time being, the matter would not be thought much of. Nothing, so far, has occurred which calls for the action of the Washington executive; and the Government will not interfere so long as the malcontents keep from appropriating the Federal revenue; but any attempt to collect the national duties for the purpose of applying the proceeds to

State purposes, would demand the immediate attention of the President, and, if necessary, the whole army and navy of the United States could be brought to bear upon the revolting State. But let us hope that circumstances will not arrive at such a juncture.

When the news of Lincoln's election first reached Washington, the effect was electric on the host of office-holders resident in the city. They became most infuriated, and declared for secession forthwith, some of them going so far as to affirm their readiness to resist by force the inauguration of the successful candidate. But on the following day there was a complete calm, if not re-
action ; and we hear that numbers of the Government officials at Washington and elsewhere have already petitioned Lincoln for places under his administration ! The correspondent of the *New York Herald* (a Democratic organ), writing on the 8th November, remarks :—

“In the really influential political circles of Washington all is calmness and composure. The election of Lincoln has been regarded as certain for some time past. The excitement is confined to the political clubs and committees, and to hotels, and has scarcely penetrated the inner circle of good society at the West End. Two or three ardent young fellows, connected with some of the departments, appeared in the neighbourhood of the General Post Office with disunion cockades in their hats, but were laughed at for their pains, and quickly disappeared.”

The same writer also corroborates the prevailing opinion that at heart the disunited States, whatever they may say, or however they may bluster, do not mean to secede. The strong common sense of the people will not allow things to come to a crisis ; and the excesses of the “fierce Democracy” will ultimately disgust the influential portion of Southern society. “The love of the Union is still proved to be a deep-seated and irradicable sentiment in the hearts of the people, even of the seceding States. Letters from every one of them attest this fact. Disunion is looked on with abhorrence, apart from all considerations of its absolute impracticability.” The mercantile and moneyed interests throughout the South are adverse to disunion ; even in Charleston, says the *Herald's* correspondent on the 15th November, “The business men, and artisans, and mechanics, and all the professional classes, are decidedly opposed to secession.” President Buchanan, it is said, is determined to maintain the Union, if necessary, by force ; and he is supported by the majority of his cabinet, who are of the opinion that secession would be unconstitutional, whilst at the same time it would rather lessen than add to the stability of the “peculiar institution.” Southern conservatives are urging upon South Carolina to stay her proceedings, and

wait the result of Lincoln's inauguration. It will be time enough, they say, to move when the rights of the slaveholders are positively infringed upon ; and such a thing is not likely to be done by the new Government.

It has been suggested by some that a full declaration of his principles by the President-elect would restore confidence. But his views are already before the world, though it is possible and highly probable that they have been exaggerated by secessionist orators of the South. Mr. Lincoln's opinions are essentially moderate. The great principle of the Republican party with regard to slavery as it at present exists, is non-intervention—slave restriction, not prohibition. The new administration will not, because it cannot, interfere with the institution as established in the various Slave States. What it intends to do is to prevent the admission of any further Slave States, and vigorously to put down the external traffic which has been simply winked at by the present Government. The tendency of such a policy will certainly be gradually to eradicate the evil ; but the effect will be eminently beneficial to the Slave States and the general welfare of the Union.

But supposing all obstacles to be removed, would the South gain by secession ? The new nation would require funds to start on its own account, but the South has not got the needful. She will borrow. Good ; but from whom ? What security could be given by a community one half of whose money is invested in human chattels, who compose nearly two-fifths of its population, and who are waiting for a favourable opportunity to walk off ? The revolution of the white population would be the signal for insurrection amongst the negroes. Would the former of themselves be able to keep down the latter ? Again, if the slaves fled to the North, could the South obtain their recovery ? In the event of war between the rival confederacies, which would be victorious ? It is not difficult to answer these questions, for it is easy to perceive that slavery would be vanquished. In men, money, and the sinews of war generally, the North could bring two to one into the field against the South, as well as having the good wishes of the civilized world. With internal mutiny and external war, the case of the slaveholders would be utterly hopeless. But let the South remain true to the Union, and it will have the assistance and sympathy of the Free States in the management of its servile population ; let the reverse be the case, and the sympathy and assistance would be given to the negro. Union, therefore, is strength and prosperity to the South—disunion, weakness and adversity.

For Postscript to this Article, see page 232.

ART. VII.—CAVOUR AND GARIBALDI.

1. *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*. 1850—1859. Paris.
2. *Zobi. Cronaca degli Avvenimenti d'Italia nel 1859*. Florence. 1859.
3. *Correspondence on Affairs of Italy, presented to Parliament*. 1859—1860.
4. *The Times*. 1860.

THOROUGHLY subordinated to the national as all the political and social questions of the Italian revolution have been, it would be a mistake to deny their existence; or to overlook in the spectacle of union two distinct parties with different aims, methods, and ideas. In reality the movement has been social no less than national. Political problems have been solved as much as international questions. More than once a crisis has occurred which has called out from the depths of society all those powers which rest upon opposite political, social, and religious theories; and we have seen, face to face, those parties which have existed since society and politics began. Impersonated under the great names and the marked characters of Cavour and Garibaldi, there stand confronted the two principles of policy, the aristocratic and the popular, the legal and the revolutionary; and the two great parties of order and of movement. Just as the French revolution was, though principally social, yet in a great degree national; so indeed the Italian, though originally national, is in no small degree social. The former commenced in the effort to substitute one form of society for another, but it ended in a struggle for existence with its neighbours. The latter commenced a struggle for national existence, which it cannot carry to its issue without calling into action many of those elements out of which states are compacted, and facing at least some of the difficulties which disturb the union and harmony of orders, classes, and institutions.

On the one side we have seen the action of the Government, or rather of one pre-eminent statesman, moulding the material and political strength of a small state into one compact power, and divergent parties and purposes welded into a definite national policy. Next, the action of an established and strong system has been extended to foreign powers, and the whole machinery of international statecraft has been moved and guided by one strong and practised hand. At last, by a consummate stroke of daring and ingenuity, an auxiliary of overwhelming strength has been invoked to be used, watched, and eventually resisted. Beside

which, a variety of local revolutions needed to be tempered and guided under legal forms and in the presence of retrograde parties; and a work of internecine struggle carried out under the jealous eyes of European Governments. The power which could do this must above all things have possessed patience, tenacity, self-command, experience, and practical sagacity, and no small share of those solid qualities out of which grow the orderly consolidations of states. Such an element existed in the rich and educated classes of Upper Italy amongst the nobility, the landowners, the professions, and the trades of the towns; men who, sometimes pedantic and often overcautious, in the main retained the respect and confidence of the people, and to a man were ennobled by the national sentiment and zeal for order and rational government. Such men, whose services are too much depreciated because far from brilliant, formed in reality the strong conservative element by which alone the hot passions of the time have been mastered and guided; and they found in Cavour an exponent and chief who as far surpassed them all in his instinct towards systematic and orderly organization, as in his power of grasping and controlling the more vigorous forces of the revolutionary element.

On the other side we have seen the conception of national existence matured and upheld through dreary years of suffering by a few brilliant intellects, gradually growing up as the religion of the finer minds, until it at last spread to be the passion of all that is generous in the national character. With them it became a principle too sacred to be tampered with, too vital to suffer excuse or delay, which demanded every sacrifice and was capable of every achievement. These ardent spirits addressed and found response in the hearts of the people; they repudiated the course of diplomatic intrigue as much as that of cautious legality. Believing more in enthusiasm than in organization, and in self-devotion than in ability, they are impatient of the delays and scruples of the party of order. Devoted to their principle of national regeneration, they condemn those social influences which unless in moments of extraordinary excitement virtually dominate and represent every society. They thus quite misconceive and undervalue the weight bearing upon the future of their country from the will or policy of foreign states, as well as that of the rich, educated, or powerful individuals at home. With feelings which in every great crisis do indeed make the life of national movements, they had neither the patience nor the judgment necessary for sustained preparation, or for handling complicated situations and rival parties. Besides which, they have so little sympathy for those sentiments, interests, or habits, upon which the order and obedience of masses of men repose, that they force their own enthusiastic ideas upon populations quite incapable of adopting them,

and govern alternately with untimely violence and fatal negligence. In a word they possess, though in a modified degree, all those good and bad qualities which mark all strictly revolutionary bodies; which make them, it is true, essential in moments of national effort, but render them incapable of permanent organization. The "party of action," monarchists, republicans, or federalists have the real characteristics of the party which produced and carried out the English and the French Revolutions; they possess indeed their genius, their sincerity, and their enthusiasm; but they have some share at least of their fanaticism, want of sense, and self-command; and have all their unfitness for consolidating their own work, and the same antagonism to the bulk of their own people. At the same time, though unable to consolidate, they have the creative capacity; and however powerless to govern, it must never be forgotten that they are essential to inspire a national revolution.

Such are the elements which have been at work during the whole of this recent Italian movement, occasionally acting harmoniously as one, then separately but in common, at times in open hostility; but both indispensable and both inevitable. Cavour and Garibaldi, the leaders of these two parties, are not, however, their simple representatives. [To all the habitual self-restraint, the knowledge and patient training of the Conservative classes, Cavour adds the full power of conceiving and using the enthusiasm of popular feeling.] But with all his superiority to his own order and party, he does not and cannot inspire in others that passionate love of national existence, that moral elevation of character, that unflinching self-devotion and perfect simplicity, which seem to beam from the countenance of the great popular hero. With his admirable versatility, sagacity, and knowledge of mankind, the great minister has been able to conduct with consummate skill an undertaking as great and difficult as ever fell to the lot of a statesman. [But the very ability of his combinations and devices, the very brilliancy of his achievements, has proved in no small degree fatal to the moral strength of his position. He has mixed himself up in compromises and intrigues, and in deceptions which, however excusable in a politician, are fatal to the honour of a great national regenerator.]

The services of Cavour to his country have been indeed indispensable; without him neither the first possibility of life, nor the actual maintenance of existence, would have been practicable; but he is not all, and he needed a very different colleague. All that is wanting in Cavour is supplied in Garibaldi. Utterly incapable of civil administration as the noble soldier has proved, he has inspired in the heart of every Italian emotions which no Government orator or diplomatist could awaken. When a ministry had

completed a bargain which nothing but necessity (yet unproved) could excuse, the voice of the bravest of the brave was heard in the council of the nation choked with shame and indignation. That broken protest sank deep into the hearts of the people; it taught them to rely on their own sense of dignity, and not on the hired favours of strangers. Again, when the enthusiasm of the nation was sinking under the chilling process of consolidation and diplomatic manœuvring, the same voice aroused them to a sense of the task still before them, and awoke the stifled cry of national reunion. By him the sense of public honour and pride, wounded to the quick by a humiliating sacrifice, was again called into activity. By him also the desire of national existence has been raised from a line of policy into a sacred duty, and patriotism has been elevated into a religion by which interest, habit, and personal ambition are to be transformed and disappear. Lastly, it was the Dictator alone who could give to the regeneration of Italy that character of brotherly reunion, of moral purification, of popular simplicity and intensity, which were little dreamt of in the Cabinet, the Court, or the Parliament.

Their country needed both. Each had his own great part to bear in the contest. It has not fallen to the lot of Italy to unite in one party, as in our own Revolution, the most fiery enthusiasm with the sternest discipline, or to create a leader who, like Cromwell, could be at once the devotee of a sacred cause and the consummate politician. With them, principle and policy have had a separate representative, and the claims of neither one nor the other should be exaggerated or undervalued. The passion of the soldier has been curbed by the providence of the statesman, whilst the skill of the minister has been ennobled by the energy of a hero. Without Garibaldi, the intensity no less than the character of the popular feeling was in danger of being lost; had he been master, it would have been ruined in futile enterprises. As in every regular act, heart and mind must concur, the one to suggest, the other to control; so it has been the duty of the hero to inspire, of the statesman to guide the popular effort. That which the one felt, the other thought; the instinct of one has been matured by the experience of the other. The one has made his country respected, the other has made it honoured; the one has increased its power, the other has elevated its character. Arm and head, heart and brain, feeling and intelligence, may be contrasted, but cannot be separated without danger. It may not be possible, or even desirable, exactly to decide the share which each may have had in a common work; but it would be a profound mistake to exalt one service at the expense of the other, when both are indispensable.

In estimating the qualities of Count Cavour, we are chiefly

impressed by that in which he surpasses all modern statesmen—the faculty of prevision. In this, pre-eminently the first duty of a politician, the present century has shown no example at all comparable. In him alone shall we find anything like a systematic and patient elaboration of a great national object. There, at least, we have an instance of a Government far ahead of its people, creating and directing an active public opinion towards one object, and subjecting the whole of its action to the slow work of preparing for a distant and gigantic enterprise. For ten years now the whole public action of Piedmont—material, political, and moral, in foreign as well as domestic policy; in Parliament as in Cabinet, from one end to the other of the public service—has been centred in the effort to prepare for that part which she has lately been called on to perform. It was from the joint action of all these means—by diplomacy, by public opinion, by material organization, by attention to the finances, the army, the railways, the schools, the ecclesiastical bodies, and the civil service of the nation, that Count Cavour has looked for the success of his undertaking. Indeed, the history of his administration affords a complete instance of a statesman who works out a profound policy with unfailing sagacity and determination. The details of management have been no less admirable than the scheme itself. The perfect publicity and distinctness of the object sought, and the harmony with which all developments of national activity fell into the grand purpose, is the best proof of the soundness and vitality of the policy. No other could afford any basis for sustained and combined action. Such a type of Government belongs, indeed, more to the past times in which States have been created, than to these latter days, in which they are feebly or carelessly governed. It contains nothing of that irregular and incoherent movement which, since the French Revolution, has marked more or less the European ministries. To carry a few popular measures, to provide for the wants or dangers of the present, to undertake or surrender a course of action under the sway of public opinion, to assume in Europe that position which for the moment seemed most conducive to the national prestige, has been the crown of the aims of any modern ministry. The work accomplished by Count Cavour belongs rather to that order of statesmanship which has created nations, changed the future history of Europe, and consolidated new eras of social and political life. For the true parallels or rivals to him, we must look, not amongst the Palmerstons or Talleyrands, or even the Peels or Guizots of our day, but amongst the company of William of Orange, of Frederick II., and George Washington. Not that he in any great degree resembles any of these great men; he may not equal some of them in moral elevation of character, though undoubtedly his mental

capacities are not wholly unequal to theirs. But it is to the class of great creative statesmen, and not to that of able administrators or consummate diplomatists, that he belongs. It is not from such men that we can look for the organization of all the conflicting principles and forces in a highly cultivated nation, and the formation of a great living whole out of the scattered fragments of an oppressed race. It is a peculiar genius for government which can grasp as a central idea that one principle of action which can alone give cohesion and vitality to disorganized communities, can make it practical enough for the most unenlightened, and broad enough for the most aspiring; and at the same time develope it in action under all the restraints imposed by prescription and the sluggishness which timidity and selfishness impose on large classes of mankind. The conception of national unity is indeed primarily due to those impassioned thinkers of all schools who upheld the sacred tradition of the Italian race, and in perhaps the highest degree to that unhappy genius who was himself the least capable of creating it. To Mazzini, it is true, as thinker, poet, preacher, or agitator—as indeed anything short of politician—is due in this generation the strength of that principle which is the very life of Italy at this day. But however we admit his claims as a teacher, which as a conspirator he has done so much to nullify, it is clear that had not Cavour found means to make that notion of Italian nationality patent to the mind of all Europe, and made it a practical and intelligible creed to all classes of Italians, forcing the principle forward under a constant shield of order and right, the very idea itself would long have remained in the breasts of the small circle of noble and intelligent spirits. It is not by eloquent appeals or by desperate self-sacrifice that the mass of the public can be penetrated. It has been the task of Count Cavour, by a long series of public acts, all within the sphere of sound and legal administration, to awaken in the minds of the great body of his countrymen a sense of national right, duty, and dignity, and to conciliate the spirit of freedom with that of subordination to one powerful will.

The difficulties which met Cavour on his first accession to power, were such as even now it is difficult thoroughly to estimate. The defeat of Novara had left the Piedmontese kingdom humiliated and weakened, and yet fatally implicated in the insurrectionary movement which each succeeding event in Europe contributed to discredit. There the Church, and a semi-feudal landed aristocracy possessed a strong traditional power. The whole of the administration of the little State was singularly backward and imperfect. Its legal and its commercial system, its municipal institutions, the organization of its army, of education, of the public service, and of religious bodies, its tariff, its roads, and system of com-

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munication, and lastly, its own national unity, were below those of nearly every other State in the Peninsula, except the Roman itself. In the other provinces of Italy, monarchical sentiments had not begun to exist, and national greatness was known only in the language of insurrectionary appeals. All the sad honours of the late campaign had been won by the old municipal spirit, and Manin and Garibaldi had upheld the glory of historic republics. The strength with which upon the shattered efforts of the national uprising the old empire of the foreigner had been established, had crushed out all but the hope of feeble palliatives and evasions in the minds of the more cautious, and desperate conspiracies in those of the bolder. Parties were swaying between hopeless submission and hopeless rebellion, amidst a state of things in Europe which seemed at each step to be extinguishing the last embers of revolution. By degrees two distinct courses of action became visible, and two rival parties made their existence felt.

The constitutional or moderate party adopted one; the party of action or the national party the other. It has been the work of Cavour to vivify and fuse the two. On the one hand, the party which comprised the rich and noble classes, the more timid natures, and the bulk of the commercial public, bowed down by the great calamity of the last effort, preached against any new risk or immediate action, looked only for the future to the action of time and increased intelligence in the people, and hoped by patient conduct and ingenious management to alleviate rather than extinguish the national degradation whenever the circumstances of the day or the public opinion of Europe offered an opportunity. Violently denouncing all extreme measures, and resolute to expose themselves to no fresh disaster, they hoped to ameliorate the position of their country by legal resistance, and by the means of those liberal institutions which survived the wreck, by appealing to the public opinion and Governments of Europe, and in particular by the introduction of a parliamentary system. Opposed to this was the policy of the revolutionary party, who, having their head-quarters at Milan, possessed no insignificant strength both at Genoa and Turin. Under this head belong all those parties, whether republican or monarchist, who looked forward to *insurrection* as the means of restitution, and laboured by conspiracies, associations, and propagandism towards the freedom of the Italian race by a general explosion of revolutionary energy.

This party indeed was animated by a far deeper devotion to the common cause, and felt more deeply the miseries of the present, than the supporters of the more patient and cooler policy. They felt indeed the immense necessity for action, and unhesi-

tating confidence in the capacity of their race. They saw, moreover, the grand truth that all the patience and prudence of their rivals never would result in creating that deep national enthusiasm which alone could produce a restored nation; and that the future of their country could no longer be left to ministerial ingenuity, but must be made the first and last of public duties.

Standing as we do upon the pedestal of past events, we can now discern that neither one policy nor the other had a chance of success. With all their efforts towards material and domestic advancement, with their old ideas of regular and peaceful efforts, the moderates could never have awakened the sentiment of national reunion, or forced upon Piedmont the danger and the glory of the national chieftainship. They possessed no means and little taste for reaching the popular sympathies, and were devoid of all conception of a social regeneration as bound up in the national revival. Nor could their doctrines attract the nobler spirits or the finer intellects, whilst they compromised with the great end of all political life. Under their system Piedmont might have gone on for years increasing in ignoble prosperity, distinguished from Belgium or Holland by a finer army or a nobler soil. Nor did the bare programme of the revolutionists offer a more fortunate career. The long series of disastrous insurrections into which the unhappy illusions of Mazzini led his generous but credulous followers, seems to prove beyond all doubt the impossibility of really organizing a national insurrection in a country so thoroughly shackled and occupied with the sanction of every Government in Europe. Their appeal to the spirit of their countrymen, whilst it does honour to the sincerity of their own devotion, shows but too sadly how much they had mistaken the vis inertiae of the bulk of the people. And if to be always fancying a passion for national independence in masses of the country population to whom the very name of Italy was a word without meaning or sense were not enough to condemn them as politicians, it was a fatal delusion to be preaching insurrection to a people amongst whom the rich and the noble held the paramount social and political influence, classes who by the very conditions of their existence must resent with indignation any suggestion or attempt towards revolutionary or social convulsion. Had such a party succeeded in establishing their supremacy, the future of the Italian race would have sunk more hopelessly at each successive disaster which they had provoked. Outcasts at once from all the conservative elements of their nation, and hunted down by its oppressors, they would have served only to renew continual protests ever to be extinguished in blood. Discarding, it seems despising, that material strength and organization which they did not, and could not possess, and

attributing to the moral strength which they had an extent which was wholly delusive, they could do little but keep alive a sacred principle which they were incapable of making triumphant. Each insurrection would have ended in fresh physical suffering and deeper moral prostration. Had Italy possessed no sons but them, they might have been now wandering over Europe like the Poles, and showing us that Italian nationality existed only in the minds of the thoughtful and the ardent as a tradition or an aspiration.

It has been the task of Count Cavour to bring about the fusion of these two parties, each of which maintained an idea which was indispensable to real success. [The party of order saw the necessity for regular and patient development of the national resources; the party of action the duty of rousing the popular energy.] From the one he took their notion of the end, from the other their view of the method of national policy. With the one he adopted as his watchword the unity and independence of Italy, with the other he proclaimed as his policy the regular and public reorganization of the State. With the one he saw that no genuine progress was possible, unless by accepting the conditions of the political and social system existing; with the other he insisted that all political and material development must be animated by a leading principle, and subordinated to one paramount duty.

Seen from a distance, his Government presents itself to us as one series of sagacious yet aspiring enterprises. With every fresh success he has risen in audacity and vigour, until we have seen at last the revolutionary energy of the outlaw matched by that of the responsible minister. He has shown, indeed, that a great revolution can be carried out without a reckless use of convulsive measures, but not without rising to a true conception of all the forces in society which underlie its external forms and laws. He has carried out the work of Italian nationality by repudiating, on the one hand, the desperate aid of mere insurrection, but on the other not without boldly advancing on the path of organic revolution.

The career of Count Cavour exhibits the somewhat unusual case of a politician who grows less and not more conservative by experience. His progress has been one from unobtrusive administrative and economic studies to the conduct of astounding revolutionary movements. First he is the industrious writer on financial operations, then the minister of material and political reforms, lastly the leader of a nation in a struggle for existence. There was little in his early life to foreshadow the formidable character in which he now appears.

Almost the first act which it fell to his duty to carry out, the

commercial treaty with France, was an emblem of his whole subsequent system. By that treaty, indeed, Piedmont surrendered far more advantages than she obtained; but she obtained from it the priceless gain of the foundation of a French alliance. In the words in which the minister defended his policy in Parliament we have indeed the key of his whole career, a reorganization of the whole strength of the country to be combined with foreign alliances as the basis of a national war. "To this treaty," said he, "we are moved by considerations superior to any economical or administrative interest. A crisis may yet, and probably will soon arise in which Sardinia might need, if not the material, at least the moral support of France. This treaty may not give us all the financial advantages which we have a right to expect, but it will strengthen that precious union which ought to exist between the free people of the west of Europe." It was the same idea to which belong all those commercial treaties which marked the year 1851, with Belgium, England, Switzerland, Greece, the Zollverein, and Holland. By them, together with the second convention with France, an entire revolution was introduced in the fiscal system of the kingdom, and Piedmont took her place as a Free Trade State in a manner to which no other continental power could pretend. The sagacity of these measures has indeed been amply proved by an increased and increasing revenue; by the stimulus given to production, and the development of material prosperity.

But it is to take a very narrow view of his policy to suppose that it was as a free-trader, or economist, that Count Cavour carried out these measures. They are political no less than commercial measures. Their prime object was to introduce Sardinia as the equal of the enlightened and progressive States of Europe, to insure the moral support, if not the actual alliance, of France and England, to raise the country up out of the catalogue of obscure or satellite kingdoms, and invest her in the eyes of her citizens and of all Italians with a European dignity and importance.

Nor was this idea less conspicuous in any of those administrative reforms under which the whole organization of the country has so marvellously expanded. That system of railways which is now the completest which any Continental State can show, if not quite so thickly set as the Belgian or the English, possesses a symmetry and a common design which show the work of a dominant purpose directing their whole extent. There is something quite strategic in their plan, and we see them laid out as in the array of an army with a first and second line of defence; a double communication between the strong stations, and a general concentration of the whole. And the providence and

value of this work was abundantly manifested in the recent campaign, where we saw Turin saved from invasion, and gigantic manœuvres executed by the sole agency of this new engine of war. It is again to the same general policy that so many of the other labours of that ministry belong: the postal conventions with the other States of Italy, by means of which Piedmontese journals and information penetrated the Peninsula; the reconstruction and reorganization of the mercantile and naval ports, the reform of the finances, of the banks, the reassessment of the land-tax. Finally came that by which the ministerial policy was to find its weapon—the entire reorganization of the army, and the systematic armament of the fortresses which formed the key of the internal defence. It was by this series of administrative reforms, and the energy and sagacity displayed in such repeated instances of sound practical statesmanship, that the great bulk of the nation gradually came to place its confidence in a minister who had so strikingly increased the prosperity and activity of the country. But if the policy of Count Cavour had rested there, he might have been the organ of the Conservative classes, without ever becoming the chief of the active energy of the progressive. It was necessary to assume an attitude which could arrest the imagination and appeal to the heart of the bulk of the nation, Italian as well as Piedmontese. He must proclaim a principle which could really enlist that smouldering but irresistible force of resistance, and unite in one battle-cry the unguided will of thousands of ardent spirits. To satisfy and to restrain the passionate hopes of men to whom fear and despair were unknown, and soothe the heaving agitation of over-goaded populations, needed some more powerful engine than financial arrangements or amended tariffs.

To exist, Piedmont must head the revolution. It was this which none of the leading men of the country seemed adequately to conceive. It was this which has been the basis of Cavour's policy. Slowly he began to announce a more energetic system.

The diplomatic struggle with Austria in defence of the Lombard exiles whose property had been sequestered, first exhibited him in the arena of European politics, and gave its true stamp to his policy. Then Italians for the first time saw the audacity and skill with which the minister could meet the high-handed violence of the great Empire. When after the failure (at least outwardly) of the most powerful appeals and protests to Austria, the Sardinian envoy was withdrawn from Vienna, the full significance of the struggle became manifest. It was a great step thus to have met the common enemy with a defiance, and to have pronounced before the public opinion of Europe a crushing indictment, and carried off the approval of the Governments of England and France.

But there was an enemy at home yet nearer than the Austrian

whom it was necessary to humble and defy. Whilst the Papal Church retained its prestige and organization, the union and independence of Italy were alike impossible.

Rome yet possessed the strength to impede every step towards national greatness, and the strength of Rome lay in the monastic orders. It is a singular fact that during the provisional régime in Tuscany and the Duchies of Central Italy, the feelings of the clergy, and with them of the rural populations, were seen to vary exactly in proportion to the numbers and power of the monastic bodies. To strike down and shatter this priestly army was the object achieved with entire success by the conventual legislation by which all orders not engaged in preaching, teaching, or healing were suppressed. By this measure the Papacy was humiliated and its strength crippled. The rapidity, firmness, and moderation with which this great social change was effected (unattended by any of those evils which have too often followed upon such an act), showed the minister superintending without a single failure a real revolution in society, and conciliating the strict claims of law, property, and order with a scheme involving a most organic change and kindling opposite passions.

Neither the fury of the Catholic party nor the excitement of their extreme opponents could shake the Government from its policy of long-matured advance. The part which this measure alone has played in the recent agitation towards annexation to Sardinia is very remarkable. Both sides feel its significance, and the resolution and boldness displayed in it by the ministry as much added to their strength as the senile anathemas of the Vatican exposed and degraded the Catholic party.

The material strength of the country having been thus raised to the highest efficiency, and the domestic enemies effectually subdued, Count Cavour was prepared to enter upon that branch of his policy which involved the active co-operation of the European powers. The war against Russia offered the means, and even made necessary immediate action. The opportunity was given of at once entering into the circle of the European States, whilst the late outbreak at Milan, and the evident excitement of the republican party, proved the danger of a policy of inaction. Count Cavour accordingly offered to the allies the vigorous co-operation of the Sardinian State, and dispatched a force which nearly equalled and at one time exceeded that of the British army. By this enterprise the ambition and self-reliance of the army were awakened, great impulse was given to its organization and strength, the disaster of Novara was blotted out, and the credit of Piedmont again placed beyond a rival in Italy. But it was by its indirect rather than by its direct consequences that this measure must be judged. The alliance with England and

France, by which the Sardinian territories were actually guaranteed during the war, and which promised for many years the closest relations, at once raised the little kingdom into a European Power. The moral effect of the protest, uttered at the Congress of Paris, formed a real step in the history of Italy; nor was the language of the minister in the Parliament other than was justified by facts: "From henceforth the Italian question has entered on the order of European questions. The cause of Italy has been maintained, not by demagogues and revolutionaries, but by the plenipotentiaries of France and England. From the Congress it has passed to the tribunal of public opinion. The struggle will be long, and need prudence and calmness; but our cause will triumph."

Indeed the state papers which that occasion drew forth before the public attention of Europe, were such as possessed no ordinary significance. That presented to the allied powers in April, 1856, by the vigour of its attack by its unanswerable logic, and still more by the perfect moderation of its tone, could not fail to place the Italian question in a new light, and force upon the most conservative minds in Europe the necessity for acquiescing in important change. The conflict waged in the field as well as that in the council sank deeply into the minds of the whole Italian race, the former chiefly into that of the people, the latter into the convictions of thinking men. And if in the recent elevation of Sardinia to the chieftainship of the nation, we see the influence of the glory of the Crimean campaign, we see in it no less the impression caused on the more vigorous of the older parties by the attitude which the kingdom had assumed in the councils of Europe. This it was that gave the minister the support of the republican and purely revolutionary chiefs. Now they saw opening to them a real prospect of achieving by some not distant effort the entire emancipation of the country with the sanction and even the co-operation of some of the European powers. Then they began to see the real drift of a policy which looked forward to national independence, not by setting up Piedmont as a fortunate model for imitation or an example of prudent resignation, but by training her whole energies for the hour of national struggle, and preparing the way for success by a hearty co-operation of parties and long-sighted combination of European policy.

With regard to this participation of Piedmont in the Crimean war very opposite judgments have been formed. It may be said with much force that to declare war with a friendly power which menaced no possible right or interest of the State, to burden the struggling resources of the country with a new and indefinite weight, to have rushed unprovoked into the midst of a gigantic struggle; in a word, to have undertaken a distant war for the

sole purpose of deriving therefrom glory and alliances, was an act of very doubtful prudence, and of hardly doubtful morality.

Right or wrong, the war resulted almost as a necessity from the part which Sardinia had undertaken. To maintain her very existence and tranquillity she was forced to show herself prepared for a speedy struggle with the Austrian—to enter upon that struggle with a chance of success she needed at least the moral support of the Western Powers—and that support she could not hope to obtain unless by boldly identifying herself with their foreign European policy. The Lombard campaign was only possible after the Congress of Paris, and admission to the Congress would have been impossible had it not been for the victory on the Tchernaiia. It may be that the task of national regeneration is one which after all the sword is not competent to effect; but so far as force or policy could effect it, the work has been most thoroughly successful, and if the Crimean expedition was one which by itself has no adequate justification of right, it has been at least gilded over by amazing results, and received a certain consecration from the cause which it has so incalculably served.

But the work hitherto had been one only of preparation for the struggle. The time was come for the actual effort. The aid of France was sought, and obtained. Nothing could be a greater mistake than to regard the interference of France as the result of an individual impulse of the Emperor, or any special manœuvre of the minister. It is bound up with the whole system of Count Cavour's policy, of which it forms the crown. By it that policy must stand or fall. With reference to that his public acts must be explained and judged. Imminent as that French intervention was in 1848, with the whole course of events leading up to it over a period of ten years, popular as the object of the war was in France, it must be looked on even more as the issue of the situation of affairs in Europe than of any individual will, however powerful and apparently capricious, and as having justified the sagacity of Lord Palmerston, who wrote in November, 1848, "The glory of delivering Italy to the Alps from the Austrian yoke will compensate, in the eyes of the French people, many sacrifices and great efforts. The opportunity for invoking French intervention in Italy will not long be wanting. The Lombards would be ready to furnish it directly they knew that the Government and people of France were disposed to answer the call. It is hardly possible to imagine that an Austrian army could resist a numerous and powerful French army, seconded and supported by a general rising of the Italians." In any case, such an alliance was the consummation of the policy of Count Cavour. Under his hands Piedmont had undertaken to solve the national difficulty. She was, indeed, impelled to it by a fatal necessity

to preserve at once her independence, her tranquillity, and her throne. Had not, indeed, the upper classes under their noble chief placed themselves at the head of the national movement, their power would in a few years have been wrenched from them by the party of the revolution to renew the policy and disaster of Novara. What, then, were the means by which the end was to be obtained?

The last campaign has proved how utterly powerless would have been the most desperate efforts of Sardinia alone against the entire force of Austria. Nor were we to add to these efforts, as the revolutionary party insist, the insurrection throughout Italy; it is not easy to assert that it would have improved the chances of national success. This could not escape the eye of the man who had evoked and weighed the resources of his country, whilst he repudiates, and perhaps undervalues, the power of insurrection. He was forced then to look for some external assistance; nor is it conceivable that he could have persisted in a long course of provocation and defiance of the common enemy with the ultimate intention of commencing war with no forces but the compact army of the king, and the desultory fury of unarmed populations. Such an idea is as much contradicted by the character of the man, as by the whole history of his acts. Some external aid was indispensable. It presented itself only in two forms. He might meet Austria either with the assistance of one or more of the Western Powers, or might wait until she was herself a prey to the mortal throes of revolution within. Even now, as we witness the slow dissolution of that tenacious power struggling so long after a death-wound, we cannot fail to see that to have waited for that crisis might have been to wait until safety, honour, and self-respect had been lost at home. Each fresh act of provocation thrust Sardinia nearer to the inevitable conflict, and necessitated a still bolder act to confirm and extend the prestige of the last. Sardinia was forced by an irresistible power to advance incessantly upon a path where success was only possible at the price of invoking the assistance of the foreigner. To have relied, as the revolutionary party insist, upon the unaided strength of Italy, means simply to have submitted to an internal revolution as a preparation, and to have established a democratic republic upon the ruins of all those conservative elements of the country, and of the consolidation of the social system, out of which alone, as we conceive, permanent success was possible. *Italia farà da se* was the watchword of Mazzini at the opening of the war. But the very weapon with which, as he conceives, she ought to fight—the insurrection after the model of the year '93—involves the previous suppression of the whole force of the upper classes, to whom such a weapon is abhorrent and self-destructive.

To the Western Powers, then, or more distinctly to France, Count Cavour directed his hopes. Hazardous as the cast was, it cannot be proved to have been desperate. All those advantages which it seemed to offer have been obtained from it; and very few of the evils which were foretold have come to pass. He cannot be said to have conjured a spirit which he was unable to control or to resist; nor can any reasonable mind assert that the loss of Nice counterbalances the creation of Italy. It may be that the recent war has not adequately solved the difficulty. The assistance of France may have produced a moral injury to the future of Italy. But all such evils were involved in any possible course of active effort. No conceivable policy, in such a case, could have been without its own inherent defect. It may be that the European statesman, or even the Italian patriot, might deplore the intervention of France; but it would be preposterous to condemn a great practical politician from seizing the only available engine of acting on the immediate destinies of his country.

The assistance of the foreigner having been decided upon, the task before Count Cavour was to direct the Italian revolution by means of conservative authorities, and with the least possible risk of political or social convulsion, and at the same time to call out the whole warlike energy of the nation. It must be admitted that he succeeded far better in the former than in the latter portion of his duty. The liberated populations exhibited indeed far more sagacity than energy, and finally achieved their freedom by a fortunate deficiency of vehemence and excitement. It cannot be doubted that an almost suspicious reliance was placed upon order and diplomacy. The fact is that the whole conduct of the movement had been placed in the hands of the recognised heads of the social system, and was left to the upper classes to direct by skill without any admixture of revolutionary convulsion. This was especially obvious in Tuscany (which was but a type of the other provisional Governments), where the entire guidance was placed in the hands of a real aristocracy of birth and wealth, of men possessing the leading territorial and social influence in the country, full of the conservative instincts of an educated and historic order, and united by long study, and an almost pedantic trust in the machinery of orderly and systematic government. Such as the Tuscan rulers were, such were the Parmesan, the Modenese, and the Bolognese, in a greater or less degree; and the whole of these governments were created under the influence, and in most cases by the direct act, of Count Cavour, and were even after his fall inspired mainly by his counsels, and held together by the National Society which was the organ and promoter of his peculiar views and policy. The exigencies of the situation

had all been foreseen and provided for by the minister, and he relied for the success of the revolution to be accomplished under the shield of France exclusively to the strength, authority, and ability of the conservative and wealthy classes, assisted by all the educated intelligence which they could command. It is true that but for a bolder and less far-sighted effort, the population of Central Italy might have sunk from want of military energy and enthusiasm; but it is not the less true that the whole attitude, sobriety, and pertinacity of the resistance they made to the Peace of Villafranca, was directly due to the sagacity of the statesman who had placed the direction of a revolution in the hands of men who belonged to the party of order by instinct, position, and education.

More recent events have shown Count Cavour assuming a bolder attitude, and earning almost the name of a revolutionary leader. The connivance in the attempt of Garibaldi, and the invasion and annexation of the Papal and Neapolitan territories, belong wholly to the policy of a man who had risen to a full sense of a critical situation. The manner in which he has used, aided, and then controlled Garibaldi; the skill with which the republican energy has been let loose, to be at the very moment of destruction reined in and pacified; the audacity with which a startling onslaught was made upon the Head of the National Church, and a friendly monarch attacked and besieged, without on the one hand calling forth revolutionary passions, or on the other the hostility of jealous foreign powers, is undoubtedly a proof of political aptitude, such as makes the turning-point in the destinies of a nation. In these later enterprises the true force of the statesman's capacity is seen, for they exhibit him as the chief of a revolution of which he has hitherto appeared mainly as the controller. Schemes such as these belong to those exceptional crises in which a statesman must rise above the rules of prudence, legality, and moderation, or be irretrievably lost, and act, if he acts at all, in a full consciousness that the safety of the people is above all law. It is by such acts throughout history that the existence of nations has been preserved by men who have broken through at once all the habits, traditions, and laws of society, under the overwhelming duty of the salvation of the nation. Men will always be found to object to Cromwell violations of the constitution; to Danton suppression of law; to William the silent duplicity and intrigue: but politicians must be judged by their power of commanding the crisis in which they are placed, and the average of their good and evil must be struck by the practical necessities of their task. On any politician who dares to violate constitutions, laws, or treaties, the heaviest responsibility must weigh, to be removed alone by the

verdict of history and the conscientious sanction of public opinion.

Beneath the faultless logic of pedants and fanatics, the public instinct feels that the law of nations in no true sense could apply between the provincial States of Italy, or govern relations which rest on a condition of virtual revolution and war. When the Sardinian armies invaded the Marches and Umbria they invaded the States of a power with whom they had long been waging a deadly but informal war. When they hunted the Neapolitan pretender to his last retreat, they were only crushing an outcast tyrant and driving forth an incendiary partisan. Legal pedantry and hypocritical formalism apart, it is true that Count Cavour has the right to say "We are Italy! we act in her name." The judgment of free nations has welcomed that which does indeed bear the outward form of the triumph of might over right, and the hopes of order and national independence have been raised high by these acts of violent invasion. Yet not the less must we feel admiration for the sagacity and courage of a policy which so far transcends the regions in which ordinary statesmen dwell, and belongs to the extraordinary efforts of decisive emergencies.

Count Cavour is a politician of that high order that unites the most opposite qualities, and resumes in himself the various forces of an era. He embodies the cause of monarchy, order, and constitution, whilst working out a revolution and founding a new nation. At once the sagacious economist, the consummate minister, and the dictator of a crisis, he is by turns laborious and energetic, subtle and impetuous, ingenious and audacious, practical and profound. Now it is his task to calm the agitation of a nation, then to call it to a struggle for life; now he imposes on it his own strong will, then addresses and instructs its judgment; sometimes convincing in the Parliament, sometimes stirring the public heart, sometimes guiding unseen the machinery of diplomacy and parties. In a word, he has the true vein of a statesman. His whole action is practical, relative, and instinctive. His policy rests upon principle; yet he is never the slave of his theories. He can rise to the grandeur of ideas, yet is never carried away by illusions. An inflexible purpose may bow before necessity and storms; and out of every emergency still grasp the true clue upwards. No modern politician insists so firmly upon theory; none so consistently develops it into action; and none is so little cramped by it in practice. His love of order never stiffens into oppression; legality with him stops short of formalism; his mastery of logic is forgotten when logic has ceased to be of use. With a turn for diplomacy worthy of Talleyrand, his art is restrained to its due place and function. A master of party politics, he is never greater than when he has ceased to be a

parliamentary leader. Conservative by nature, he knows the value of institutions ; in the hour of crisis he sees in them nothing but forms. He has gauged popular emotion ; he neither mistakes its strength nor forgets its fickleness. With an appetite for power like Richelieu, he loves to rest upon public opinion ; and being a real dictator, he acts in the spirit of a responsible minister. With a native insight into character, there are no men and no parties whom he hesitates to use ; fanaticism or industry, authority or enthusiasm, craft or heroism, are instruments which he employs and controls. He can lay deep plans without being tortuous ; be politic without falsehood ; and strike an unexpected blow without treachery. In the State he grasps a concentration of power, which he wields without selfishness, and which is yielded without jealousy. In Parliament he can solicit the support of a majority without stooping to party triumphs. In the tribune he seeks to convince, not to confute ; to win confidence, not votes. He never perorates, but argues ; generally careless in language, always keen in logic, sometimes rising into moving eloquence, sometimes overcoming by inherent energy.

In the Cabinet he is master of diplomatic fence, yet his logic is ever drawn from public right and plain principle. The exquisite skill with which he crushes his opponent's case is only equalled by the substantial justice of his own cause. His State-papers would be models of art if they were not standards of historic fact. With all his instinctive love of order and law, he sees that these are not ends but means. In a crisis he can rise superior to any notion but that of public safety and duty. To habitual industry in preparation he unites an impetuous rapidity of execution ; and however careful in husbanding his resources, he is prodigal of them in action. His most daring schemes are all within the limits of reasonable safety ; if he oversteps legality, he remains true to right. In a word, he is in our day the single example of a ruler who governs by native superiority and that willing homage which ennobles the giver and the receiver. He shows us how power can be gathered into one hand, yet be but the expression of national will. Nor less is he an instance of a politician who conserves whilst he changes ; who conciliates order and movement, tradition and expansion, the past and the present ; who innovates without convulsion, and modifies without destruction. Thus he is to us the type of the real popular dictator, and the statesman of true conservative progress.

Such are the characteristics of Count Cavour, and they are those essentially of the statesman. But they represent but one element of the Italian movement alone. The sagacity, self-restraint, and perseverance which have marked it are amply exhibited in him, but for all that has given it life, poetry, and moral

grandeur, we must find a very different representative. The virtues, aspirations, and powers which we attribute to Garibaldi belong not either to the minister himself, or to the classes of whom he is the chief. There exists beneath the surface an intensely popular element in this Italian revolution, showing in reality nearly all the features which have distinguished the effervescence of new ideas in the mind of the whole people, and recalling in the strength of its enthusiasm, in the electric contagion of its ideas, and in its influence on the moral sentiments, the spirit which can be seen to move through nations in great crises of their history. Unlike in all external marks as this recent movement is to that of the great French Revolution, to enter into the fulness of its character we must bear in mind the peculiar features which belong to the early days of that, and without drawing a comparison between two periods so inherently different, we can see certain leading ideas which belong to both. With the history of the first period of the new era in France before our eyes, we shall better conceive the religious quality of that patriotism which has sustained the exile for thirty years, and carried the army of Garibaldi through incredible sufferings and dangers. We can thus best understand the heaving and agitation of the mass of the people, a new idea sweeping over them like an epidemic, kindling in the hearts of man and woman a fanatical enthusiasm, moving man to man and class to class, elevating debased populations into momentary impulses of dignity and virtue, and inspiring the finer tempers with unwonted fires of self-sacrifice and daring. Thus it was that in silent cities the people has sprung forth as under some sudden frenzy, that armies have laid down their arms at the magical influence of a name or a voice, that men of wealth, position, and refinement have hastened to stand shoulder to shoulder with the peasant on bloody battle-fields or more deadly camps, and have given up every earthly interest, and even the convictions of their whole lives, in defence of a sacred cause. We are far too apt in presence of the discipline which has been submitted to, and of the manifest inferiority of the Southern population, to underrate the extent as well as the intensity of the enthusiasm of the people of the North. The immense depopulation of Venetia, the 100,000 men who since the beginning of the war have volunteered into the different armies, the sacrifices borne, and the heroism shown by whole classes of men, and the resolution and patriotism of the bulk of the people of the North, cannot be effaced by any tales of failure and indifference in detail, or the worthlessness of the demoralized cities or barbarous peasantry of the South.

It is the army of Garibaldi, and their leader himself, who most worthily represents all this element of the movement. With all

their dexterity and experience the supporters of the statesman do not adequately embody the vitality and elevation of the popular instinct. The heroic soldier and his men belong not to the men who can guide and administer a State, but they are of those who fought with Manin the desperate defence of Venice, and maintained the honour of their capital against the treacherous insolence of France,—of men who, like the Bandiera, Bassi, or Ciceroacchio, have been murdered in cold blood, who have spent their lives in prison and exile, and lived a long martyrdom for their cause. Without the spirit which sustained these men in the dungeon or on the scaffold, it would have been impossible that the sacred tradition could have kept its purity and strength. These are the men, and the party to which they belonged, who have taught the youth of Italy to feel the holiness of their cause, who have clothed it with an irradiating splendour, and required from its supporters a devotion and a moral elevation unsurpassed. To them it is due that the expulsion of the stranger means a real national regeneration, and that the future of Italy is made to rest upon the individual worth of the citizens. They are the men who first saw and preached the duty of absolute unity, of the consolidation of States, and the fraternity of classes and orders, and who upheld the singleness and directness of purpose to the one great end. To them is due chiefly that which gives moral dignity to the Italian people, and but for them the sagacity or energy of the statesmen would have dealt only with untutored masses and a lifeless, passionless multitude.

It is quite consistent with this view to disbelieve most strongly in the capacity of such men for government or direction. With the most emphatic conviction of the utter hopelessness of any revolution attempted under the control of such men, it is impossible to refuse to the revolutionary parties, whether under the name of Republican or National, Mazzinist or Garibaldian, the credit of having set in motion an action of which others were the more fortunate directors. Mazzini, Garibaldi, Guerrazzi, or Bertani have abundantly manifested, on one occasion after another, their incapacity for civil organization and rule, and the public instinct is quite justified in looking upon their ascendancy with unconquerable aversion. But as agitators their influence has been indispensable. It is true that in '48 they led the national cause to ruin, but it is equally clear that their principles prepared it for triumph in '60. More and more we are forced to see how powerfully the abortive struggle of '48 acted upon the national mind, and led up to the success we have lately witnessed. The Lombard and Venetian insurrections, the popular votes of annexation in the Duchies, the heroism of the defence of Rome, had educated the masses with a sense of their duty and an instinct towards union.

The effort of '48 was crushed by force, but not the less was it a moral triumph. It awakened the national conscience, and penetrated the depressed multitude. It planted the standard of the nation, and taught the creed of unity and the religion of patriotism. The task of the statesmen of Piedmont was but to moderate, guide, and organize the irrepressible spirit of freedom, which was the outgrowth of the rising of '48. More and more do we see in '60, under happier and wiser guidance, the noble enthusiasm and aspirations of '48. But that effort was made notoriously under the auspices and direction of the Republicans. If we measure out to them our condemnation of the unwisdom which brought them to ruin, we should no less give them credit for the spirit which at least they succeeded in inspiring. With no stain upon its honour, with no possible charge against it but that of misfortune and misconception, the effort of '48 cannot be stigmatized as the work of incendiaries or demagogues. The great agitator to whom that movement owes at once its energy and its unsucccess, may indeed have been the victim of desperate illusions, but wilful ignorance only can charge him with baseness, or downright malice only represent him as a sanguinary fanatic. Whatever faults may have been committed by the Republican Governments in Italy during '48, no single charge of violence or selfishness has ever been established against them. And those who have really had any knowledge of these leaders know them to possess a singleness of purpose, a strength of principle, and a touching love of their country and their countrymen, which surpasses in depth and purity anything that their rivals or their maligners can show.

But whatever may be the judgment passed upon this party and the true character of its members, certain it is that Garibaldi himself is its truest and fullest representative. It is mere self-deception to deny that he really belongs to that body with whom his whole life has been passed, and all his ideas derived. It is much the fashion to revile all the revolutionary leaders amongst men, who forget that they thereby are discrediting the whole previous history of their favourite hero, and must wilfully distort the plainest evidence of his acts. In spite of the most convincing proofs that he looks on Mazzini still with friendship and trust, that all his friends belong to the old Republican parties, and all his acts are dictated by the old doctrines of insurrection, the mere fact of his allegiance to the king is supposed to place him in the constitutional party. The fact is, that he belongs to the revolutionary classes, by his whole nature, habits, history, and situation. He shares with them his greatness of heart, and draws from them the false theories of his political creed. He amplifies and exalts their virtues, but he is not the less involved in their illusions and defects. The highest political virtues are not

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incompatible with great political incompetence, and the noblest elevation of character cannot exclude fatal intellectual errors. It is by his character and not by his intellect that Garibaldi holds his sway. It is not by what he directly does that he acts, but by the mysterious influence of his spirit and life. In his story, the humblest and most ignorant can feel instinctively the worth of a life unstained by one selfish act or worldly motive; the simple majesty of a man to whose eye his fellow-men are seen as man to man, stripped of every circumstance of accident or rank, and in whose soul burns nothing but the fire which makes martyrs and heroes. It is this power which gives him a moral influence, which neither king or minister can approach. Not merely through his own country does this influence extend. It spreads strangely through the extent of civilized Europe. We ourselves witness that his name inspires a something more than passing sympathy, and is mixed with convictions of unusual tenacity. Strange stories are told of artisans in Berlin, worshipping in the streets at a shrine of St. Garibaldi, and how his name stirred the blood of the Faubourg St. Antoine in Paris. To the workmen of Glasgow or Lyons, as much as of Naples or Milan, he represents the claims of their own order, and from Poland to Spain, and from Scotland to Sicily, his course has kindled the interest of the democracy of Europe. He has, indeed, in every fibre, the nature of the people and embodies their craving for a nobler future to be won by their innate energy. He has their strength and their weakness; their generous instincts and their incoherent doctrines; and his career, in which both have been signally exhibited, has awakened a motion of that spirit which runs through each State in Europe when revolution begins in one. He feels himself to belong not only to Italy, but to the cause of liberty through Europe. When he fought in the Republics of America, when he promises his sword to Hungary, or expresses his sympathy with the people in England or France, it is because he feels instinctively the brotherhood of people with people, and the bonds which unite their future destinies in one. Nor does he ever fail to show that he belongs little to the actual political systems, but to a new and possible order of things. To him, the forms, constitutions, and ceremonials of the day are vanity and expedients. He feels intensely with the heart of the nation, and believes it will rise into a higher life. His perfect simplicity of existence, his contempt for dignities, wealth or power, his gentleness and guilelessness of heart belong indeed to a period when public life shall have risen to a purer atmosphere. That he does not understand it as it is, that he is ignorant of its tortuous mechanism, is more to his honour than to his discredit. He has left the task for which he has neither ability nor heart, to others. He has gone

back to his own simple world. He has left behind him the memory of an unsullied character, a sense of duty, and a love of truth, of which his age can see but half the worth and beauty.

But whilst Garibaldi retains the idea and habits of those with whom he has acted through life, his fine character enables him to see and avoid the errors which are peculiar to them. It is this instinct which has gathered up all his faculties with native sincerity round the standard of Savoy, and has made as the centre of his creed loyalty to King Victor Emmanuel. But this adherence to the king is very far from being with him a political dogma. It is nothing but an instinctive conception of the necessity of the case and the practical sense of a man of action. His whole mind, however, is essentially republican, and there is something preposterous in supposing that such a man can have any leaning towards monarchy as a system. But he loves and honours the soldier king in his heart, and he has idealized in him the national life. To this beautiful fiction in the mind of Garibaldi is perhaps due more than to any other single cause the welcome which the staunchest republicans have given to the once hated House of Savoy. He, the man to whom peasant or prince appear each in their native worth as men, to whom all the trappings of social life are contemptible, and the whole political system of which the monarchy is but the head is alien, to whom laws, tradition, or custom, weigh nothing in the balance against the safety of the people and the honour of the nation, gives hearty allegiance to the king, in whom he sees personified the destinies of his country, and who is pointed out by fate as its natural dictator and chief. Under such an influence only could a nation in whom the bare notion of monarchy has never been fairly implanted, and in whom in this age no dogmas of a constitutional aristocracy are ever likely to implant it, receive with enthusiastic submission the monarch who was indispensable as a centre of union and of action. It was through this personal trust of Garibaldi that, in moments of great danger, fatal mistakes were avoided, when after the armistice of Villafranca, on the several proposed invasions of the Papal territories or the liberation of Sicily and Naples, it required the whole force of an influence like his to restrain the fiercest tempers and most earnest republicans collected round his standard from raising a separate standard, and at once commencing a career of insurrection.

It is this idea which forms the principal link between two very opposite parties—in a word, between the two distinct schools of policy of Italy—the constitutional and revolutionary. Nothing but a practical compromise in the person of a beloved leader could reconcile two parties who so thoroughly misunderstand and dislike

each other. More than anything else, the example of Garibaldi has contributed to this end. At his word the most inveterate Republicans have consented to forego their principles, and the high sense of Cavour has not feared to use their indispensable services. It was the name of Garibaldi which finally decided the adhesion of the old party throughout Italy in '59, and has retained them true to their allegiance under the most trying circumstances. But it is no less clear that he is heart and soul with them. The revolutionary engine—the *levée en masse*—war carried on by insurrection—trust alone in native valour without discipline, organization, or ceremony, is the only weapon which he knows. Diplomatic measures, foreign assistance, unless simply of volunteers, material equipment, and even military science are to him as irksome and worthless as golden trappings or braided uniforms. He appeals to the heart of the people alone, and trusts in their innate honour, energy, and heroism. It is this which makes at once his strength and his weakness. He typifies and he evokes the life which alone can make a nation free or strong, but he discards at once all the institutions by which its strength is disciplined and directed. Himself and his followers feel in them no small measure of that unquenchable fire which in '93 preserved and created France; they will not see how far the condition of their country and their countrymen is removed from that era of convulsive excitement. Yet no little of the religious zeal of those French Republicans may be seen in his army and in him. To him the cause and its defenders are alike sacred and dear. He can hardly understand that one who has laboured and suffered for Italy is unworthy of responsibility and confidence. In his eyes, one who has bled on the field or pined in a dungeon is a martyr to whom honour, influence, and trust are due without stint or hesitation. He who has endured the longest exile or the heaviest irons, or he who is most hateful to the common enemy, must of all men be most capable and worthy to serve the common country. He who has shown most his love for her must be best fitted to protect her. He who in the darkest hour uttered the most inspiring protest is the truest guide in the hour of relief. Devotion must imply capacity, and unbounded faith is the best proof of a patriotic heart.

Such is the spirit in which the simple-hearted soldier clings to his old friends and their views, upholds Mazzini, Crispi, Mordini, Mario, and Cattaneo, and thrusts, as rulers, upon the bewildered Neapolitans and Sicilians men who have learnt their creed of politics and system of action in conspiracies, in exile, and in dungeons. With him they hold such a place as the "people of God" held in the heart of Cromwell. Those who have given all for the cause are sanctified in his eyes. He feels for them as members

of a sort of religious brotherhood, of whose rectitude and zeal no doubt can be permitted. These are the spirits, as he believes, the country needs. It wants nothing but sincerity and vigour. They who love it most serve it best. The intrigues and artifices of professional politicians discredit and pervert the national honour. Compromises, arrangements, and prevarications belong to their trade. The moral sense is lowered by their specious precautions, and the keenness of self-reliance is blunted by their diplomacy. Innate energy and daring are nobler and surer weapons; the generous hearts of the people will do the rest. Brotherly affection and frank forbearance must soothe the antipathies of party. Unity of purpose and genuine zeal will preserve the public security and order. Generosity will supply the necessities of life. Mutual trust must stand for discipline; the service of the country is above any earthly reward; its true leaders need no formal commissions or solemn election. Heroic valour supplies the place of armies, and simple manhood and its own great heart will create a nation worthy of freedom.

But whilst believing this in all sincerity and fervour, he is a slave to no system, and is not deluded by any narrow dogma. The same love for his country which he perceives in Mazzini, he recognises in Victor Emmanuel. He, too, and his soldiers and generals, have fought and laboured for the cause; and the very ministers and politicians and official servants of the State have, as he sees, after their fashion, a genuine sense of the common duty. Hence, throwing aside all logic, his fine instinct unites both parties in one. Full of loyalty to the king, he yet holds by all the friends of his old days; devoted to the principles of Mazzini, he submits to the will of the king and his ministers. Thus are two rival and hostile parties reunited and reconciled. The Garibaldians dare not repudiate a king whom their beloved chief delights to honour and obey. The monarchists are forced to be forbearing with a party to whose head they owe an incomparable service. The one have come to feel that from the ranks of the revolution has come forth the noblest son of Italy; the others, with their leader, can say, "We are Republicans still, but our republic is Victor Emmanuel."

This sense of duty to the king, in whom he sees personified the union and the honour of the country, at last, after many struggles, induced him to surrender the dictatorship of the South, in spite of his deepest convictions and an intense repugnance to the ministry of Cavour. Full of the purest ideas of the insurrectionary party, still smarting under the shameful sacrifice of Nice, and cherishing an inextinguishable hatred of Napoleon, Garibaldi was bent on retaining the power in South Italy, and rushing with blind heroism to the rescue of Venice and Rome. It needed the

whole strength of his unalloyed trust in the king to restrain him from this fatal delirium. With many struggles he recovered his reason; his instinctive good sense returned. Almost heart-broken by the sacrifice, he gave up, in the presence of an overpowering sense of duty, all that he holds most dear and most true. He consented to look on upon the prolonged slavery of his brethren; to yield to the will of a degrading oppressor; to sacrifice his oldest friends and most trusted followers. And last trial of all, he consented to place the work of his own hands and the people he had fought for into the keeping of men to whom he bears the keenest antipathy, to whose policy his whole life is a protest, and who have but recently degraded the nation and bartered its very principle of life. Such was the temper in which the Dictator, much loth, accepted the annexation and its consequences.

It needed some overpowering sense of duty to counterbalance his ingrained convictions. Had he not acted so, it is plain that he was going on the road to ruin. Not only must his attack have been infallibly crushed in the field (even it would seem by the arms of Sardinia herself), but the internal state of the country would have shortly resulted in irredeemable chaos. It may indeed now be assumed that the Garibaldian régime would have ended in Naples in the most complete dissolution and anarchy, and almost the rupture of society itself. It needs little argument in the face of incontestable facts. Not indeed that the rulers appointed were in themselves incompetent or untrustworthy, but because they were wholly incompatible with the people whom they had to govern. Full of the notions of insurrection and revolution, they were applying their own extreme and incoherent system in a society quite unprepared for it, and to circumstances in which it was an anachronism. In a half-barbarous and debased population it was necessary not to inflame, but to calm; not to impel, but to restrain. They needed the strong hand of a regular and orderly Government, not the exciting stimulus of insurrectionary committees, and the whole apparatus of revolutionary action. Such a population could be controlled only by the accustomed weight of recognised Government. The Dictator was full of trust that they could be aroused to the due point of insurgent energy. But a blunder so fatal as this does not conclusively prove his incapacity for civil government under more favourable circumstances. It only shows that he had thoroughly mistaken the situation and the real necessities of the case, and was only able to shake himself free from the notions and habits of his whole previous life by an effort of the most splendid abnegation, and by withdrawing altogether and abruptly from a post the duties of which he profoundly misconceived.

The sacrifice of principle once made, the retirement to Caprera

was a necessary and subordinate incident. Much has been said of this act by men who little understand his character. It was neither the result of mortification, or impulse, or vanity, much less of a morose or factious temper. With him to retire to his position as a simple yeoman was a natural consequence of no public task needing him. The self-sacrifice is seen in the surrender of his principles and friends, not in his love of the happiness of private life. Garibaldi, if not the leader of a revolution, is nothing. To head an army of heroes, to awaken the enthusiasm of a population, to initiate a new order of ideas and acts, is his only duty. To organize, to govern, and to compromise, to prepare by patient forethought, or devise by dexterous management, is above or below his power. He cannot make the laborious official, or the sagacious minister, or the rigid disciplinarian. His character is too lofty for the petty necessities of these duties. He belongs wholly to a purer atmosphere. When no unusual effort is required, there is little in which he can serve his country. He retires in the calmer moments of ordinary life to the simplicity of the life of the humblest citizen. Yet natural and voluntary as his retirement has been, it is not the less melancholy. For a character of such strength the surrender of such hopes and purposes gives a profound shock. Though feeling the necessity of the case, he could scarcely comprehend all the reasons which made his mere presence a danger. Yet his retirement to his island is, perhaps, the most instructive, as it is certainly the most honourable act of his life. By it his party have learnt to yield, however reluctantly, to the true interests of their country; and the name of an Italian has been placed before the eyes of Europe as the symbol of the purest self-devotion, and a religious sense of public duty.

Garibaldi thus gives to the national movement a character which was essential, and could come from no other. The creation of a nation needs more than victories, treaties, institutions, or administration. Success in the field or the council may furnish it with opportunities. True national life needs real public regeneration. It is right, then, that Garibaldi should be felt to be the popular hero. In a prolonged struggle, requiring so much from skill, circumstances, and foreign aid, it needed the contact of one great heart to keep alive the sense of dignity and honour. Whilst ministers were engaged in diplomacy, intrigue, or compromise (essential as they too were), it was well that a hero should be found to speak of nothing but truth and duty. Italian nationality means more than independence and freedom, or it means little. To show its true destiny, it needed one splendid example of public duty without blemish or alloy. Henceforth for all Italians the memory of freedom is for ever bound up with the

ideal of perfect social virtue. In years to come, in the strife of public life they may learn from him higher aims and nobler acts. Nor was it less essential that in a deadly struggle with a foreigner they should be headed by one who knows the true brotherhood of nations: and that a war of hatred should be tempered by one who has a woman's gentleness and mercy. Thus the Italian has fought without the brutalizing hate of race; and no single instance of ferocity has stained his chivalry: for their chief loves all brave men, and can pity even the oppressor. Nor has this re-consecration of war brought back its barbarous traditions, or its retrograde instincts. He, who for the last time has made war noble in Europe, has cried aloud to it with almost fanatic aspiration for universal peace. The noblest soldier of our day tramples on the pomp and pride of war with native loathing and contempt. So too, it was right that the popular heroism which lay burning beneath the action of state policy should have its due place and task. If all the power in this national struggle has gone to the great and noble, it was well that the true halo should rest round one who is of and with the people. In the midst of convulsion and strife, there rises up an image of mildness, simplicity, and tenderness, a gentle spirit calming passions, jealousies, and hatreds, disarming treachery, and putting selfishness to shame. Men have seen in his look the traditional image of goodness, and have not scrupled to call him the Apostle and Messiah of their race, as at once the deliverer from oppression and the teacher of a moral regeneration.

Of all the comparisons which have been made for him there are none which are not very wide of the reality. He has, indeed, none of the qualities of statesman, dictator, or commander. That which belongs to him exclusively is a species of popular inspiration and influence as by electric contagion of emotions. More than to warriors or politicians he belongs to the order of religious enthusiasts. It is a character infusing itself through a nation. One story there is in history which in some moments recalls the features of his. One character there has been with whom his has some traits of likeness. Utterly unlike, as in many respects it is (and without instituting a purely fanciful comparison), there is something in the great Liberator of the spirit of the Maid of Orleans. Sprung like her from the depths of the people with whom he is identified in every fibre of his heart, he, too, in the extreme need of his country, has upraised it by an almost miraculous career. As in hers, the destinies of his country are bound up in his mind with the will of Providence, from whom deliverance is looked for by a faith truly religious. She, the simplest and purest of spirits, went forth from her peasant home rapt almost in a trance through her deep "pity for the

realm of France," and intense belief in the greatness of her people, and carrying daring and devotion to the verge of fanaticism, awoke in the very depths of society the heart of the nation out of the midst of despair, until by the sheer strength of native worth, the overwrought people had vindicated for themselves their honour and salvation, in spite of every human obstacle, and in defiance of every recognised means or aid. A spirit not absolutely of another kind burns also in him. He, goaded almost to madness at the sight of his country's degradation, and called forth by the consciousness of a nobler destiny, has given up his every thought, act, and wish as to a sacred cause; and touching the inmost heart of his brothers, and calling them round a king in whom the nation itself is idealized before his eyes, has led them on to incredible success, and inspired them with unconquerable faith. She who breathed life into France, her work once done, was a peasant girl again. So, too, the rock of Caprera lives in the hearts of millions of Italians as the emblem of perfect worth, of moral dignity, and of faith unwavering.



ART. VIII.—DANTE AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

1. *The Divine Comedy translated into English verse.* By Rev. H. BOYD, A.M. London. 1802.
2. *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Inferno, Cantos 1—10.* Translated by ODOARDO VOLPI. Dublin. 1836.
3. *Plain and direct Translation of the Inferno of Dante, Cantos 1—4.* By C. HINDLEY. London. 1842.
4. *The Inferno of Dante, translated in the terza rima of the original.* By JOHN DAYMAN, A.M. London. 1843.
5. *Translation of Canto 5 of the Inferno, and the Narrative of Hugolino.* By H. C. JENNINGS.
6. *Ten Cantos of the Inferno of Dante, newly translated in English verse.* By T. W. PARSONS. Boston, U.S. 1843.
7. *Dante translated.* By J. C. WRIGHT, M.A. London. 1845.
8. *Dante's Inferno, Literal Prose translation.* By JOHN A. CARLYLE, M.D. London. 1849.
9. *The Vision of Dante Alighieri.* Translated by Rev. H. F. CARY, M.A. London. 1847.

10. *The Comedy of Dante, translated.* By PATRICK BANNERMAN. Edinburgh. 1850.
11. *Translation of the Divina Commedia.* By Rev. E. O'DONNELL. London. 1852.
12. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, rendered into English.* By F. POLLOCK. London. 1854.
13. *Dante's Divine Comedy.* Translated into the metre of the original. By THOMAS BROOKSBANK, M.A. London. 1854.
14. *The Trilogy, or Dante's Three Visions.* Translated by Rev. J. W. THOMAS. London. 1859.
15. *Dante's Divine Comedy.* Translated in the original ternary rhyme. By C. B. CAYLEY. London. 1854.
16. *A Free Translation in verse of the Inferno of Dante.* By BRUCE WHYTE. London. 1859.

THERE are several points in which it has been usual to contrast classical and mediæval poetry. They are often said to have adopted a different standard of excellence, and, necessarily, to have aimed at attaining it by very different methods. We are apt to think of classical verse as furnishing models, indeed, in which the most exquisite taste can find nothing to offend—as the perfection of refined and faultless beauty; but inferior to mediæval poetry in spirit and vigour, as much as it stands superior to it in finished elegance. We think, in a word, that the perfect type of the former would be rightly conceived as the calmness of Divine repose, the perfect type of the latter as the creative energy of Divine life.

We shall see, however, if we examine with care the best writers of each period, that this view is imperfect at least, though not wholly incorrect. There is no such marked distinction as it implies between ancient and modern literature. We may find, in each of them, writers of elegance with little vigour, and of vigour with little elegance. Petrarch must be conceded as a type of the former class; and Lucretius, with equal justice, of the latter. The notion has obtained credit, in great measure, from the readiness with which a few of the best known Augustan writers are admitted as complete specimens of the literature before the Christian era; while the literature of the Middle Ages is even less generally known, and the early English songs and ballads, and the Latin hymns of the monks, are accepted as indicating, with sufficient accuracy, the nature and limits of the perfection which it attained and desired. The boldness, too, with which the

technicalities of ancient art have been disregarded by modern poets has given some countenance to a theory which seemed to indicate, with such nicety, the distinction between those who never erred, and those to whose genius many errors could be forgiven. But to whatever extent the received opinion must be rejected or modified, it implies at least this amount of truth—that the excellences which it assigns to different periods are, in some degree, opposed to one another, and are rarely found combined in the same individual. Virgil and Horace, and, in later times, Petrarch and Sannazaro, have left us little to desire that classical elegance can supply. The writers of our own miracle-plays and early ballads have furnished us with sufficiently remarkable products of the vigour of an uncultivated genius; and it would be no very difficult task to place in the one or in the other list the greater number of ancient and of modern poets. But there have been few indeed, either in ancient or modern times, who have united in themselves the perfection of these opposite characteristics. Those only have done so, or rather some only of those, who stand among the very first of the world's poets; and first among these, by the testimony of his own and of every other land, must be ranked the name of Dante.

The "*Divina Commedia*," like all poetry of the highest order, if it is to be properly appreciated at all, must be read in the language in which it was first written. The number of its translators, however, many of them good and careful scholars, is such as to allow the reader considerable latitude of choice, and to enable him to form a notion of the poem more complete and accurate than would be possible from any single version; and the more so, since they have written, as their introductions tell us, from a great variety of aims and motives, which we ought to bear in mind in endeavouring to estimate their success. The most legitimate of any, as well as the most attainable, appears to be the wish to supply a tolerable version for those only who are unable to read the original. There are very few translators of a foreign poet who can venture to express their intention of aiming at any higher standard. Such rare masterpieces as we find in some of '*Chaucer's Tales*,' or in '*Frere's Aristophanes*,' may, indeed, be read with pleasure by Greek or Italian scholars, but it does not often happen that a translation is worth reading by those to whom the original is accessible; so that the office of the translator is in general a humble one, and he is obliged, by the nature of his work, to be contented with a very partial success, and to provoke a comparison in which he can show to no advantage. Surely, with greater justice than even lexicographers, may such men be termed "the pioneers or slaves of literature," condemned as they are to a drudgery in which few have ever succeeded at

all, and which has for its object, if success be indeed attained, the spread of another's fame rather than of their own. Good poets are indeed rare enough, and are proverbially liable to pass unhonoured during their lifetime; but still more rare, and more liable to neglect, are even pretty good translators. It is no wonder, that of the few men in each age who are really qualified to write in verse at all, it should seldom happen that any is willing to devote himself, on such hard terms, to a labour so unprofitable, and that the task of translating should in consequence be handed over mainly to those who are prepared to set about it mechanically, by a diligent use of their dictionaries to teach them what they ought to say, and of their fingers to assure them that they have expressed it in the correct number of syllables. Such a standard may appear low, and unworthy of a *soi-disant* poet, but there are few whose verses, thus doubly fettered, can bear to be judged by a reference to any higher. We must take things therefore for what they are, and admire them as we can; it is of no use to complain that crows are not eagles, and that geese are not swans.

Mr. Cary's translation has been too long before the public, and is too well known, to require the length of notice it would otherwise deserve. It is written with scrupulous exactness, and reproduces the matter of the original better than any other we have seen. The metre chosen, the ordinary ten-syllable blank verse, is certainly inadequate to render the force and expression of Dante's own versification, but on the other hand it makes fewer demands than any other upon the author's ingenuity, and allows him to translate literally without compelling him so often to twist his sentences into an unnatural form, and to amplify and alter the text so as to meet the *trinoda necessitas* of rhyme. The general effect of Mr. Cary's version is different, it is true, from that which Dante himself produces; there is too sustained a gravity of manner, even in the lighter passages, while many of the sublimer parts of the poem are so rendered as to pass almost unnoticed in the translation; there are many evidences too of imperfect Italian scholarship. These are faults, however, which those only who are acquainted with the original are in any position to detect, and it is hardly fair to rely exclusively upon their judgment in testing the merit of a translation. Those who can read Dante in no other form will always read Mr. Cary's poem with intense pleasure, and will derive from his learned and valuable notes an amount of information which will amply furnish all that they can require in the way of comment or illustration.

Mr. Carlyle's translation of the "Inferno" is a work too of very rare merit, though we are inclined to acquiesce in Mr. Cayley's estimate of it, as reminding the reader, in its manner of expres-

sion, less of Dante than of the author's celebrated brother. The introductory preface, in particular, is open to this criticism, and conveys, so far, an erroneous impression about the nature and object of the poem. The scholarship is first-rate throughout, and the translation (a prose one,) so scrupulously literal, that those who have only the very slightest knowledge of Italian may enjoy by its assistance the treat of reading the original. The text, we may add, is printed page for page with the English version, so that the volume furnishes the student with very ample means of commencing an acquaintance with Dante.

Mr. Cayley has endeavoured in his version to produce a more exact imitation of Dante by adopting the *terza rima* of the original. He has fairly carried through what must have been a task of considerable labour, but his poem, though sometimes very good, and always readable, is written in too familiar a style. He complains with justice that Mr. Cary is too grave, but he goes himself a little too far in the opposite direction, and offends the reader's taste by the introduction of absolute slang. We regret the defect the more as his translation has few other positive faults, and is evidently the work of a thorough Italian scholar.

Mr. Wright has substituted, for Dante's regularly recurring rhymes, a kind of fancy system of his own, but not, we think, very happily. The fault, of course, runs through the entire work, and damages as far as it can an otherwise excellent version. He has subjoined to the text some very sensible criticisms on the original, and some notes, which, although short, are clear and readable. He speaks very justly in his preface of the extent to which we may regard Dante as a reformer. If Mr. Thomas is ever fortunate enough to read it, it will probably induce him either to alter or to burn his own.

Mr. Dayman, in his translation of the "Inferno," has followed Dante's system of verse, and has produced a work, not very literal, but very easy and natural in manner, and, on the whole, decidedly good. He fails, however, very often in detail, and misses both the sense and spirit of the Italian.

The best verse translation which we have seen is that of the first ten Cantos of the "Inferno" by Signor Odoardo Volpi. It is certainly a work of first-class merit, and reproduces, better than any other, both the form and spirit of Dante. His preface contains, along with a good deal of commonplace matter, some valuable critical remarks; but he is far too severe and too flippant in his strictures on Mr. Cary. The entire poem, we are given to understand, exists in manuscript; we are surprised and sorry to find that the ten specimen Cantos have not been received with sufficient favour to justify the publication of the others.

Mr. Brooksbank has produced a very fair translation of the

"Inferno," into the original *terza rima*. It improves as it goes on, and the concluding Cantos form decidedly the best part of it. The requirements of the metre which he has chosen, have compelled him, however, to bolster up a great many of his lines in an artificial manner which can scarcely fail to give offence to those who are acquainted with the Italian.

Mr. Parsons' translation of the first ten Cantos is another of which we are unwilling to speak strongly in terms of either praise or blame. The metre he has adopted divides the poem, which should be continuous, into quasi stanzas, of four lines each, with alternate rhymes; and we must add to this fault, an occasional absence both of force and simplicity. He has appended some very sensible observations on Dante in a short essay, entitled, "A Word more with the Reader." He would have done well, however, to have omitted, at the commencement, a somewhat spasmodic ode intended to be in Dante's praise.

Mr. Pollock's work, in blank verse, presents, in spite of occasional grave inaccuracies, a pretty literal version of Dante. He has preserved the matter, however, at the expense of a total loss of the form of the original. The illustrations, as far as they relate to the spiritual world, are mere blots upon the page, and had far better be omitted.

Mr. Bruce Whyte's "free translation" is readable in some parts, though perhaps scarcely worthy of being read. He has added and left out and spoiled a great portion of the original, so that the work is in pretty strict accordance with the title he has selected. He should scarcely have ventured, we think, to use such strong language in his preface in condemning those who have held that Dante intended under the name of Beatrice to personify Divine wisdom. The notion, he tells us, is absurd, and destroys the interest of the character; but it is certainly warranted by Dante himself, as he might have learned by reading the "Convito."

Mr. Thomas's translation, though by no means meritorious, is certainly better than either his notes or preface. He tells us that his aim has been "to give the sense correctly, and, by uniting the form, beauty, and spirit of the original, to do justice to Dante." This would be an arrogant assumption in the mouth of the most successful translator, and we think Mr. Thomas would have done well if he had asked some candid friend whether he was at all justified in making use of it. His comments, which he says represent the labour of a life, consist chiefly of imperfect and misplaced classical and biblical knowledge, the former part of which might have been, and probably was, derived from Lempriere's Dictionary. He is very zealous, moreover, for the Lord God, and corrects Dante's errors of doctrine, in his valuable notes, with kind but unsparing orthodoxy. He is very learned too, himself,

on the future state of the wicked, and tells us, gravely, apropos of the scenes in the Malebolge, that there is no reason to apprehend that the Devil and his angels will be permitted to amuse themselves with tormenting us, should we be unfortunate enough to descend into their company. We shall not escape, it is true, but the devils will suffer with us, and the holy angels will be our appointed executioners. Mr. Thomas's readers must be strangely constituted if they are to derive comfort from this intelligence.

There is a story told of an old grammarian, at Alexandria, who inserted a pentameter between every two lines of the Iliad. The result was of course valueless, except so far as it gave proof of a certain mean kind of ingenuity which might have been much better employed. There are a good many verse translations of Dante, which it is scarcely possible to open without being reminded of the labours of the old grammarian. We ask naturally what is gained by the metre: why such platitudes of language should have been distorted from their native prose. Is Dante's genius so usual a gift that every versifier can soar with safety where Dante has been before him? Are great poems so common that it is a small offence to disgust men with the very greatest? or so rare that it is necessary to select the "*Divina Commedia*" for the travesty of incompetent translation? There is really less of excuse than of condemnation in the plea that they know not what they do; the traces of blundering unconscious ignorance raise less of pity than of disgust.

Of the few versions which remain to be considered, we scarcely know to which we ought to assign the bad pre-eminence of being the very worst of any. Mr. Bannerman, if, as we presume, he is a Caledonian, has of course the same prescriptive right to be dull that a crow has to be black, or an adder deaf; but his nationality is no excuse at all for the presumption of undertaking to translate from a language of which he can really know nothing. His work, both as a translator and a poet, is as nearly worthless as anything we have seen.

Of Mr. Jennings' competence to translate Dante, we may judge in some measure from the remarks which he has prefixed to his little volume. He tells us that Dante's poem is "equal to anything that could reasonably be expected from so grating a subject," and goes on to say, what is more strictly true of the translation, that "it is a painful task to read it regularly through." He informs us, too, that it was totally indifferent to him in what metre he wrote, this being literally his first attempt at any poetry whatever. It is almost needless after this to add that the version is execrably bad throughout.

Mr. Boyd's labours have been those of a paraphrast rather than a translator. His work has no other claim to be called

poetry than such as may result from the free use of what Wordsworth has happily characterized as *poetic diction*, and from the constant introduction of adjectives, *metri causa*, which add nothing to his force or meaning, and which would never have been employed in prose.

With Mr. Hindley's and Mr. O'Donnell's prose versions we may complete the list of those "*ove non è che luca*." They display so few evidences of either spirit or accuracy, that we will not rashly undertake to decide between their respective merits. We have certainly detected the graver errors and inaccuracies in Mr. O'Donnell's; but his translation extends over the whole poem, and has thus afforded him more opportunity of distinguishing himself; whereas Mr. Hindley has more prudently confined himself to the rendering of four Cantos.

But it is no easy task that a translator sets himself, who ventures, whether in prose or verse, on rendering any of Dante's poem. We must be contented, in such a case, to judge by a very humble standard, and most gladly welcome mediocrity, where mediocrity alone is possible.

Dante was indeed a poet in whose verse we find, combined, qualities the most varied and opposite. He is best known, perhaps, for the force and terseness of his language, for his power of short and exact description, and for the wonderful aptness and copiousness of his numerous similes. But it is more especially in the awful calmness of his most sublime passages that he stands without a rival, and far beyond all limits of praise. He had seen, as it were in a vision, the truth and reality of all that he relates; the torments and miseries of the abode of lost spirits; the lesser or rather the less enduring pains, which were to purge and purify, and not only to punish; and, last of all, the blessed inhabitants of the heavenly city, the saints, and angels, and martyrs, who, each in their own station, and order of felicity, stood under or surrounded the throne of the Eternal King. And all this he has described with no effort after originality, or labour of ingenious invention; he has told us only, with quiet confidence, the things which he had himself witnessed; but he had had more revealed to him than has been revealed to any other before or after; and yet he stands alone and above the rest not more for the things which he saw, than for the tones of the language in which he uttered them. And with all this is combined and blended the most exquisite beauty of thought and tenderness of passion. He could feel hate—few perhaps more strongly; but the depths of his nature are most truly revealed in his powers of sympathy and love.

It is not easy, in criticising a long poem, to illustrate our re-

marks by referring to detached passages. If the poem is a good one, the parts of it must derive much of their beauty from the relation in which they stand to the whole and to one another; and, the better the work, the more certainly will this rule apply. In the "*Divina Commedia*," or (as Mr. Cary prefers to call it) "*The Vision*," so entirely does it hold true, that it is not possible to appreciate fully any one division of it apart from the two others; much less can a judgment of each separate passage be formed without a sense of its connexion with all that goes before and follows it. It may be worth while, however, even at the risk of partial failure, to select some passages which would appear to suffer least by standing apart from the rest of the poem; and in this way to illustrate, at least better than by any merely general remarks, the force and variety of the poet's genius.

It has been observed by Mr. Gladstone, in his work on "*Homer and the Homeric Age*," that Homer, Shakespeare, and Dante have succeeded, as none others have done, in expressing fully, by the flow and rhythm of their verse, the nature of the thoughts they intended to convey, and this without any straining after effect, or unnatural distortion of language, indeed without leaving a trace to show that the effect produced has been in any way the result of care and labour. No reader, ungifted with the ears of King Midas, can take up the "*Divina Commedia*" without perceiving how amply, as far as it relates to our present subject, the remark in question is borne out. We shall find, in the endeavour to illustrate it, that we are introduced to other beauties besides the one of which we are in search. A translation would here be of no service; the nature of the case compels us to quote from the original.

At the end of Piccarda's speech, in the third canto of the "*Paradiso*," there is a very perfect instance of this adaptation of sound to sense.

Così parlommi; e poi cominciò Ave
Maria cantando; e cantando vanio,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave.

"Thus spake she to me: and then began singing Ave Maria, and while singing vanished, as a heavy body vanishes in deep water." It is to the second of these verses that we desire the reader's careful attention. He should observe how exactly and beautifully the flow of the line accords with and bears out the meaning. The verse and Piccarda seem, as it were, to vanish together—the one to withdraw from the ear, just as we are to conceive the other withdrawing from the sight. This effect, if we analyse it, is produced by the weak sound of the open "i" in

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vando, and the pause on the first *cantando*, standing in immediate contrast with the absence of any pause on the second.

Again, in the seventh canto, the following lines describe the departure of Justinian and the accompanying spirits.

Ed essa, e l' altre mossero a sua danza,
E quasi velocissime faville
Mi si velar di subita distanza.

"And it and the others commenced their dance, and, like sparks of swiftest light, hid themselves from me by the distance which they immediately reached." The swiftness of the motion is well expressed by the rhythm of the last two verses; the want of any pause in the first part of the second verse compels us to read it rapidly; the marked *cæsura* after the pause on the second syllable of *velar* forces upon our minds the width of the distance which the spirits had reached so suddenly. Again in the twenty-third canto, the song of the Angel Gabriel while he is crowning the Blessed Virgin is introduced by these exquisite lines:—

Qualunque melodia più dolce suona
Quaggiù, ed a se più l'anima tira,
Parrebbe nube, che squarciata tuona,
Comparata al sonar di quella lira,
Onde s' incoronava il bel zaffiro
Del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.

"Whatever melody sounds most sweetly here below, and most draws the soul to it, would appear like a cloud which is rent and thunders, if it be compared with the tones of that harp with which the fair sapphire was crowned, whose presence sheds in heaven a greater brightness of sapphire light." We may here observe the sudden roughness of the third line, and the precise manner in which the sound of its last two words expresses the cloud rent asunder and the succeeding thunder-clap, and this none the less truly because the theory which it implies happens to be totally incorrect. Then follow the three lines, in all their sweetness and melody, in which Dante passes on to describe the music no longer of earth but of angels.

It would not be difficult to multiply instances to the same effect. They lie on almost every page, and peculiarly characterize the finer passages throughout the poem. We will add only one more before quitting this branch of our subject. In the twenty-seventh canto of the "*Purgatorio*" when Dante's guide, Virgil, has used the name of Beatrice to induce him to enter the gulf of fire which was to purify him from the stains of earthly love, and fit him for his lady's presence, its effect upon him, when

almost lifeless with the terror of this new torment, is described as that of Thisbe's name upon the dying Pyramus ;—

Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio
Piramo in su la morte e riguardolla,—
Così, &c.

“As at the name of Thisbe Pyramus unclosed his eye just before he died, and gazed upon her, so, &c.” In these verses the softness of the vowel sounds, the substitution of the trochee for the iambus, and the consequent absence of the regular marked pauses, followed by the pause upon the long full word at the end, express with wonderful delicacy the faint swoon in which Pyramus was lying, and the earnestness of his gaze when he opened his dying eyes and fixed them on Thisbe. It would not be easy to find a passage anywhere more exquisitely melodious, or one in which a succession and complex beauty of thoughts was rendered so accurately to the ear by language.

It is common to regard Dante as one of the sternest of poets. He could be very stern ; he often was ; but these extracts may show that he could also be very tender. If further proof were needed, we might find it in the story of Francesca di Rimini ; * in the account of Beatrice's first appearance in the terrestrial paradise ; † or in the simile by which he describes her waiting and watching for the glory of Christ's triumph. ‡ We may see, too, in these cantos, with what a simple, manly force he could describe intense passion ; not over-mastered, and carried away, as it were, with what he relates, but standing above it all, not unmoved, but most strictly undisturbed. For vigour of poetic narrative we know nothing that surpasses the lines in which Justinian speaks of the conquests of the Roman eagle : § for grandeur and sublimity nothing like the coming of the mighty angel, the touch of whose wand threw open the gates of the infernal city. || We may feel, as we read the passage, how immense a loss we have sustained by the shipwreck of the sketches which Michael Angelo drew to illustrate the “Divina Commedia.”

It is a matter of curious inquiry how far Dante has been indebted, in the construction of his poem, to the labours of any of his predecessors. He himself professes the most unbounded obligations to Virgil, and states ¶ expressly that Virgil was his master in poetry, and that from him his style had been imitated. “These obligations” (Mr. Hallam observes) “few of his readers will be

* Inferno, v. 73 to the end.

† Par. xxiii. 1-11.

|| Inf. ix. 64-105.

† Purg. xxx. 28-48.

§ Par. vi. 37-81.

¶ Inf. i. 85-87.

willing to allow." We find here and there a thought, or phrase, or simile which is derived without doubt from some passage in the *Æneid*, but so altered and amplified that it can scarcely be said with any truth to have been copied. In Virgil's own style there is a graveness and often a sustained majesty which must have suited well with Dante's sober habits of thought and language; the verses of both are exquisitely musical, but Dante's is the music of an instrument of wider range, and of greater and more varied powers of expression. We feel, with Mr. Hallam, how impossible it is to allow that Virgil was in any real sense Dante's master. The leading idea of the poem, the journey through the world of spirits, was no doubt derived in part from the descent of *Æneas* in search of his father, in part from the ecstatic vision of St. Paul;* but we shall adduce some reasons presently which may serve to show that when Dante addresses Virgil as the poet from whom his style is imitated, he is alluding not so much to the "*Divina Commedia*," as to some of his earlier, and, particularly, his Latin, poems. It is obvious, too, to remark that, at the time when the words in question were used, the "*Divina Commedia*" had not yet been written—the vision which was the subject of it had not yet been witnessed.

An attempt has frequently been made to trace a resemblance between parts of the "*Divina Commedia*" and fragments, many of which are still extant, of monkish legends on the same subject. The vision† of the monk Alberico has been selected as the one to which it is most probable that Dante was indebted. Alberico was born at the beginning of the twelfth century. When he was nine years old, he was attacked by an apparently mortal illness, and lay, as it were, in a trance, without motion or sense, for nine whole days. But it was during these days that he saw a vision that was to influence his whole future life. It seemed to him that a dove bore him up, and that the Apostle Peter and two angels, became his guides, and conducted him through the three abodes of the departed. When the vision left him, and his spirit returned to his body, he was for some time so bewildered that he could not (to use his very words) recognise his own mother. Shortly after his recovery he entered the monastery of Monte Casino, and led thenceforth a life of holiness and self-denial, such as (in his chronicler's words) would have proved, even had his tongue been silent, the reality of the things he had witnessed. The fame of this vision was soon

* That Dante had both these in his mind is clear from *Inf. ii. 13-33*.

† This vision is given at length in the 5th vol. of Lombardi's edition, together with some interesting correspondence upon the question stated above.

spread about, and various accounts given of it, more or less false and incorrect. At length the abbot of the monastery desired Alberico himself to write down in full his own story. This was done, and it is a question in dispute whether or not the manuscript was seen and copied by Dante. The resemblance which several passages in the "*Divina Commedia*" bear to it are too close and too numerous to have been the result of mere accident. If Dante copied nothing from Alberico's vision, we can explain them only by supposing that both he and Alberico were alike indebted to the revelations of some earlier writer on the same subject.

The number of these had, beyond all doubt, been considerable. The vision of Alberico is a specimen of one only among many similar stories. There can be no question that the subject of the "*Divina Commedia*" had been frequently handled before Dante's time, and a great variety of legends written about it. It was a subject, too, which painters and sculptors had often chosen to illustrate, and which, in the representations of miracle plays, must often have been brought before the spectators. Nothing indeed could have been better suited to the purpose of the ecclesiastics; nothing could have given a more truthful and vivid sense of the reality of the spiritual world:—

Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

The accounts therefore brought back to earth by those who professed to have seen it, whether expressed in verse or legend, or sculpture or painting, would have been wisely encouraged, as likely to impress the people for their good, and give them a just sense of the importance of living for the life to come. And in this way there must have arisen, and in fact did arise, a vast mass of traditions, which no subsequent writer could altogether neglect; to which indeed, if he did not wish to outrage his readers, he must in great measure have conformed. Some, however, of Dante's commentators have resented, as an attack upon the poet's originality, what is in fact an account of the natural and necessary course he found himself compelled to follow. If Dryden had carried out his intention of writing the story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, he must have proceeded in the same way, and have met with the same, not necessarily adverse, criticism. The "*Mort d'Arthur*" and the "*Idylls of the King*" are not less truly Tennyson's own, because their main plot, and many of their points of detail and incident, have been borrowed from previous sources. Originality is scarcely more shown in inventing, than in adapting the thoughts of others. When every allowance has been made that the most exacting critic could

demand, when every borrowed thought or expression has been restored to its first owner, nothing will have been done to detract from Dante's praise as the most original of poets.

It is probable that Dante was much indebted, though in a different way, to Brunetto Latini and Guido Guinizello. These writers were living at the same time with himself, his contemporaries, but considerably his elders. His debt to them would have been rather that they supplied examples and models of versification than actual matter or incident. Of Guido, in particular, he speaks in terms of the strongest affection and respect; he calls* him his father, and the father of others, too, better than he was, who wrote the sweet verses of love. It was Guido, too, who introduced the custom of writing in verse, and in the modern dialect, upon subjects of philosophy and metaphysics. From his example, this manner of writing became fashionable, and he was imitated in it by Guido Cavalcanti among others, and by Dante himself. The reader of the "*Paradiso*" will wish heartily that the obligation had never been incurred; but we ought to remember how inevitable it was that the greatest men of those times should indulge in such speculations. The questions started had, to them, a real meaning, and an interest beyond all others. They conceived that in the endeavour to answer them, they had found the highest and most worthy employment of the human faculties. Theology and metaphysics combined to prove what is and what is not the cause of the dark spots on the moon's surface; reasons of a similar kind to show how it happens that a good father can beget a vicious son;—reasons why the Jews deserved punishment for putting Christ to death, since Christ's death was, owing to man's wickedness, in a certain manner just;—how it is that the divine nature can be immutable, and yet the origin of creation and change—when these and other questions of the sort are asked, and the subjects treated gravely, and with a length and fulness of detail which leaves no side of the difficulty unanswered, we feel an impatience and weariness which no reverence for Dante's name can quite overcome. These passages, however, which we read, only because to omit them would be to lose an essential feature of their age, were probably considered, at the time when they were written, as the most valuable of the whole poem. We ought not now to complain of their presence. If the habits of thought which produced them, absurd as they are, had not once existed, the rest of the "*Divina Commedia*" could never have been written.†

* Par. xxvi. 97-99.

† There is an observation of M. Comte's, partly on this subject, which seems here to require notice. "The characteristics of the age," he says, "appear in

A great deal has been said about the meaning of the name "Commedia," which is of Dante's own bestowing.* We find among his "Opere Minori" a letter, dedicating the *Paradiso* to his patron and friend S. Can Grande della Scala, which, whether genuine or not, appears to contain the true explanation. A *commedia* is there stated to be a poem with a happy ending, just as the name tragedy was used for any story which commenced happily, and ended in misery and ruin. The dramatic form was equally unnecessary for either. The manner and language, too, suitable to a comedy, are there opposed to the loftiness of tragic diction; and whatever we may think of the grandeur of Dante's language, it is certain that he considered Italian, "*questa moderna favella*,"† as he contemptuously calls it, as far inferior to Latin. Virgil's *Æneid* is called a tragedy;‡ Virgil's verses are "*gli alti versi*" § but Dante was compelled by custom to write in rhyme, and to use the lower language of his own age and country.|| We may assume therefore, as we said above, that in spite of all that may be said truly of his intense reverence for Virgil, he could not in such a poem regard him as his guide and master. The style of it was not imitated from Virgil, but stands in marked opposition to Virgil's style, however contrary

Dante's poem, especially in the critical tendency, guided by metaphysics highly unfavourable to the Catholic spirit. It is not only that the work contains severe attacks upon the popes and the clergy; its whole conception is in a manner sacrilegious, usurping, as it does, the power of apotheosis and damnation in a way which would have been out of the question during the full ascendancy of Catholicism two centuries earlier." Now Alberico's vision, written just two centuries earlier, and others earlier still, appear to differ from Dante's in this point in degree rather than in kind. Alberico professes to have received just as precise information about the spiritual world, and the nature and extent of its rewards and punishments. He indicates a knowledge, too, about the destinies of individuals, although he is not permitted to reveal them. Again, metaphysics may be said with truth to be unfavourable to the Catholic spirit, and their existence may indicate a tendency which subsequently developed into opposition to it; but it must surely be allowed that in Dante himself they were strictly subordinate to Catholicism. They are employed to establish and defend the Church's dogmas, not to oppose them; though of course, in themselves, equally available for either side of that or of any other question.

* Inf. xvi. 128.

† Par. xvi. 33.

‡ Inf. xx. 113.

§ Inf. xxvi. 82, so, too, Par. xv. 26.

|| The following incident will illustrate the feeling which induced Dante to wish to write in Latin, the necessity under which he found himself of writing in Italian, and the advantages of adopting a style which made the moderns his rivals, and not the ancients. Ariosto had applied to Cardinal Bembo for direction (or the Cardinal had offered it unasked) about the metre in which his poem was to be written. "'Put your romance,' was the Cardinal's grave advice, 'into good Latin hexameters, and you will immortalize your name.' 'I have no wish,' was Ariosto's reply, 'to be a second-rate writer in Latin, while I may be one of the first in Italian.'"—Stebbing's "*Lives of the Italian Poets*."

this may have been to its author's own wishes. For we may remember that Dante had intended at first to write his vision in Latin; but he was compelled, by the decreasing knowledge of that language among the people, and even among the educated, to abandon his original purpose, and condescend to use the vernacular. A few lines have been preserved of the commencement of the original poem:—

Ultima regna canam fluido contermina mundo,
Spiritus quæ lata patent, et præmia solvunt
Pro meritis cujusque suis data lege Tonantis.

We will leave it to the reader to determine how far the possession of a Tragedy such as this would have been an equivalent to the world for the loss of the "Divina Commedia."

The age of Dante and the other *trecentisti* has been celebrated by later writers as *il secolo d'oro*—the golden age of the Italian language. It was not (says Salvini) so much for the merit of the authors who then lived, that this name was given it, as for the language itself in which men talked and wrote. The custom, however, as we have seen, of writing in Italian had only recently been adopted; it had long been a spoken language, but authors had not discontinued the customary use of Latin. The Sicilian poets appear have been the first to use the popular dialect, and after them the Tuscans, and the greater number of the rest who were Dante's predecessors and contemporaries. The only praise which the Sicilians receive is for their boldness in having originated the new custom; what they wrote appears to have been of very little value; but of the writers on the mainland of Italy, and particularly of the Tuscan writers, we have received a considerable list of illustrious names, who had already formed a school of poetry before Dante's time.

But whatever later critics may think of the language of the fourteenth century, it is certain that no high opinion of it was entertained by those who used it. It was esteemed quite unworthy to be employed in the treatment of noble subjects, and was used only in condescension to the people's ignorance. There had been in fact a separation for a very long time past between the written and spoken language of Italy. The former, which was employed by men of learning, was, or at least aimed at being, pure classical Latin; the latter, the people's language, the *volgare linguaggio*, was at first a corrupt idiom, whose peculiarities were developed as men dropped gradually the inflected forms of the Latin nouns, and altered those of the verbs, introducing, too, new uses of the auxiliary verbs; as they changed the terminations of words, and in many instances the letters in the middle; and as they followed the manner of speech

introduced from time to time by the successive races who had invaded* and had ruled in Italy. While this change was in progress the separation between the written and spoken language became of course continually wider, until the latter at length took place of the former altogether, and the language of Italy was recognised as *la lingua Toscana*,—Italian and not Latin. But the old feeling was at work, then as now, which makes men think the present inferior to the past. The *trecentisti* spoke and wrote in Italian, but all their reverence was for Latin. We have seen above what Dante felt about this; and what he felt was pretty closely repeated by others, at least down to the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio, both of whom follow, but not without a certain tone of apology, the example their predecessors had set them.

It may be a question of some difficulty to determine whether or not the “*Divina Commedia*” should be called an epic poem. The name “epic” is applied so loosely, and with so great a variety of meanings, that it appears impossible absolutely to exclude it here; but an epic, in its most ordinary sense, Dante’s poem certainly is not. Viewed as such, it would seem destitute of all unity of action; its persons appear and disappear, and change in every canto; there is no continuity in the story, and, except the author himself, no hero. We ought to regard it rather as what Dante tells us it was—as the story of the course of meditation† which his thoughts followed in the search after repose and peace, and as the message which he believed‡ himself charged to deliver against the wickedness of the men and cities around him. He is guided in it first by human and then by Divine wisdom: first by Virgil and then by Beatrice. *Per aver pace* is the professed object of the journey which he supposes himself to undertake, and he finds peace at last, when his wanderings are concluded, and he is admitted to the Court of Heaven, and to the sight of the beatific Vision. It appears beyond doubt that the poem had been commenced before Dante’s banishment from Florence, although much, even of the earliest parts, must have been added afterwards.

* A very curious instance of the formation of a new language has occurred in the present century. While the allied troops were in Paris, a dialect came into use, formed out of the various words and phrases which the soldiers of different nations used in their intercourse with one another. It perished, of course, when the occasion for its use came to an end; but if the occupation had been permanent, the dialect might have become so too. We find another instance of a similar kind in what is known as *Canton English*.

† Purg. v. 61-63. See too, Inf. i. particularly the end of the canto.

‡ Par. xvii. 124-135.

"Looking down," says Boccaccio, "from his high place as ruler of his city, and seeing the nature of man's life, the blind wanderings of the multitude, and the sudden and unforeseen accidents to which it is exposed, there came thus into his mind the conception of the '*Divina Commedia*.'"

And from this point of view we may regard the poem as intended to present us with the truth of things instead of their appearances, stripping from them their false show, and the glitter of their fairy tinsel, and holding up to it, as it were, a mirror, which will reflect no disguises, and will display human life and actions, not as men see them, but as God and the holy angels

"There is no shuffling; there the action lies
In his true nature; and we ourselves compelled,
Even to the teeth and forehead of our faults,
To give in evidence."

And thus it is not only the world beyond the grave which is disclosed to us; we look too with additional knowledge upon the world around us, and see, in the light of the infinite future, the reality of things present.

The spirit of the work throughout is strictly Catholic; the world, with Dante, had existed only that the Church of God might be founded, and that its centre might be in the Eternal City, and that its saints might pass from it to the glories of the Church triumphant. For this the creation of the universe had been accomplished, to this tended the entire course of the past, it was this alone which gave any meaning or reality to the shifting scenes of history.

"Ecco le schiere

*Del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto
Ricolto del girar di queste spere,"

is the cry of the enraptured Beatrice. The heavens and earth exist, and the stars roll on their courses, only that Christ may triumph.

But Dante could distinguish the Papacy from the Pope, the divine Church from her corrupt human governors. How great soever his reverence for the former, the latter he never spares, but regards their vices and weaknesses as magnified many times by the grandeur of the seat which they occupied thus unworthily.†

"Dante," says Mr. Hallam, "is among the very few who have created the national poetry of their country. Of all writers he is the most unquestionably original."

* Par. xxiii. 19-21.

† Inferno passim, but particularly Canto xix.

We have seen above with what limitation both these remarks must be received. He then continues, in one of those passages of wonderful eloquence which lie here and there upon his pages :—

“His appearance made an epoch in the intellectual history of modern nations, and banished the discouraging suspicion, which long ages of lethargy tended to excite, that nature had exhausted her fertility in the great poets of Greece and Rome. It was as if, at some of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and had thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts which tradition had ascribed to the demigods.”

It may fairly excite our wonder that so much excellence should have been so suddenly attained, and that the progress of Italian poetry should not have been, as most progress is, slow and gradual. If we look however at the circumstances of his own age, and of that which preceded him, we may derive some considerations which will tend in some degree to lessen our surprise.

We must remember, in the first place, that Dante was not the earliest writer to whom we are indebted for the revival of literature in Europe. There had been, as we have seen, many among his own countrymen whose names are still honoured, but the lead had hitherto been taken by France and the French poets. The fame of their success stimulated others beyond the limits within which the French tongue was spoken, and that Dante was among those whom they influenced is certain, both from the terms* in which he speaks of Arnaldo or Arnault, and from his own declaration that he desired to prove by his sonnets that the Italian was not inferior to the Provençal dialect. It was a circumstance in some respects very favourable to the growth of Italian art, that the chief examples it had before it were written in a kindred, but still a foreign, language. French and Latin authors could furnish models for Italians to imitate, but could never be their true rivals, for they could never furnish the Italian people with a native literature. The field was thus clear for all, and their paths, however closely parallel, need never lap over or intersect. In this matter a man's foes are those of his own household, a man's rivals are those who have written in the same language as himself.

We ought not, therefore, to consider that Dante was entirely at a disadvantage by living at so early a period. An early poet will receive always a better encouragement than his successors.

* *Purg.* xxvi. Strictly, it is Guinicelli who is here speaking, but the sentiment, put into his mouth, is evidently Dante's own.

† *Convito*.

The field of labour is large enough indeed for all; those who complain that there is no subject left for poetry, prove only, what they wish to excuse, their own want of inventive power. But when much good poetry exists already, the avenues to public favour are, in a way, closed up; the taste of men is satisfied with what they possess. The aspirant for fame will meet therefore with very scant encouragement, and will win his laurels, if at all, against a host of competitors, who have won theirs when there were fewer rivals to be dreaded, and when even a moderate degree of merit could ensure favour and success. The existence of a large body of good literature, however favourable it may be to the formation of correct taste, is an immense discouragement to every modern author. His power of writing well may be somewhat increased by it, but it diminishes very sensibly the stimulus he has to write at all. Clearly as he will perceive his own faults and shortcomings, he will find that others are still more aware of them than himself, and he will thus be likely to leave a task unattempted in which his first endeavours will so probably disappoint his hopes. His attention will thus be turned aside to another subject before his powers have had time and opportunity to develope, and he will produce nothing great, because at the time when he was incapable of great things he met with no encouragement.

It is a point too of no little consequence that the words which the early poet finds in use, have not yet lost the freshness of their first meaning; the images which express the sensations from which they are derived, have not been dulled by long use, and diverted gradually from their original force and import. Poetry, as far as it is concerned with description, deals with the outside of things, with the appearance which they present to us, not with their truth and reality. And he is likely to succeed best in copying their appearances in words, who finds his tools, as it were, made ready to his hand; and a vocabulary and habits of thought and expression, derived from the senses, existing already to supply the sensuous necessities of art. The forms of the world around us are best painted in phrases drawn directly from the observation of the things themselves, and unchanged by elaborate reasoning upon their nature and the laws of their action. The impressions of which the mind is sensible are described better by the poet who has only felt them, than by the analytical psychologist who can ticket them with names and reduce them under the fewest headings. And there is thus in poetry, no less than in painting, a kind of perspective to be observed, the laws of which depend upon very similar conditions. A flat coloured surface is all that the eye can perceive in vision, the rest is the product of touch, and reason, and experience.

The first conditions therefore of the painter's success in colouring must be that he shall practically divest himself of the results of this experience, that he shall ignore the rules by which he has learned, as other men have, the real size and shape of bodies, and shall regard only the nature of the impression they make, not upon the mind, but upon the retina. Very similar to this is the perspective with which poetry is concerned. It describes very much by colour, for it is upon distinctions of colour that all knowledge of form is grounded; and so, passing through the whole range of the senses and feelings, it will employ those terms of description which shall most realize the thing described, and remind the reader of the object by repeating to his mind the very process by which the object itself is known to him. The concrete, not the abstract, is that which poetry ever loves, and the concrete itself it loves best in its simplest and most original form. In the earlier ages, when men's thoughts about science were those of children, their language would retain much which it has now lost of the power of its original significancy, and these conditions, the most adverse to the philosopher, would be, above all others, the most favourable to the poet.

Thus, when Dante says that at sunrise "the fear was a little calmed which he had felt all night in the lake of his heart,"* he is employing a literal metaphor (if we may be excused the apparent contradiction,) to express the exact feeling which he had experienced. The words are poetry because they accurately reproduce the sensation, and describe the very thing which Dante felt; they do not reason about it, or investigate its formal cause.

Again, when he wishes to tell us how the bright image of his ancestor, Cacciaguida, glided down in form of a star to the foot of the cross in which he was stationed with countless other glorified spirits, he says that it was—

Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri
Discorre ad ora ad or subito fuoco,
Movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri,
E pare stella che tramuti loco,
Se non che dalla parte, onde s'accende,
Nulla sen perde ed esso dura poco.†

"As oft along the still and pure serene,
At nightfall, glides a sudden trail of fire,
Attracting with involuntary heed
The eye to follow it, erewhile at rest;
And seems some star that shifted place in heaven,
Only that, whence it kindles, none is lost,
And it is soon extinct."‡

* Inf. i. 19-21.

† Par. xv. 13-18.

‡ Mr. Cary's Translation.

Now it is just this kind of writing in which, as all experience shows us, an early poet is the most likely to succeed. There is an easy truthfulness about it which seldom characterizes a later and more thoughtful age. The image is represented to the mind just as it would really occur to the senses, and the impressions of the whole scene are reproduced with a power, which yet evinces no trace of effort, no wish to do more than barely to record with accuracy. It is to descriptive art just what a story in Herodotus is to narrative. Each might appear to have really nothing in it, and yet we feel that there is everything in that very nothingness. Each speaks to us of common things in the language of common life, but it binds the attention with a spell more potent than that of reason or analysis.

Again, when Dante had torn a twig off from a tree in the grove of the suicides, and the branch from which it was torn bled, and sent forth a voice through its bleeding wound, he says that the sound of it was as when one end of a green bough is burned, and, from the other end, wind comes hissing out through the dropping moisture.* Here we feel at once how exact a simile is presented to us, how well it assists the imagination to picture to itself the very thing which it is intended to illustrate. It enables us to realize the appearance of what Dante saw, and the very sound which he must have heard. It goes no further than this, if it did it would pass out of the domain of poetry.

These are some of the many instances of word-painting with which Dante's verses abound; they are reproductions of the precise manner in which a sensation had been felt, or a sight witnessed, and they derive their beauty and precision from laying hold, as they do, of the very points by which the mind or the senses received their impressions. They imply no subsequently acquired knowledge, but enable the reader, and indeed compel him, to place himself as nearly as possible in the position in which Dante was at the moment of which he speaks. The effect of such passages as these may be fairly said to resemble that of perspective in the delineation of form and colour. In each of them we find a successful endeavour to *re-present*, and the means employed in each are as nearly the same as the different method of the two arts will permit.

We will add one more instance, somewhat different from our former ones, but nearly to the same effect. When writers of the present age speak of the spirit of man, as something dwelling in the body, and capable of being separated from it and existing alone, they believe, no doubt, that what they say is true, but

* Inf. xiii. 40-43.

they are very far from distinctly realising its truth. The influence of custom and speculation has engendered among us a more or less conscious materialism. We may use the words "soul," or "spirit," but we think of them only as functions of the living body; when we attempt to speak of them as anything else we are employing phrases at variance with our real habits of thought, and the manner of our language will continually reveal its insincerity. It was not so in Dante's age; men's earliest and most obvious notions were then accepted as unquestioned truth. We will not argue from the entire plan of his poem, which presupposes a world of spirits, distinct from the world of matter. We will examine rather a few incidental, and, so to speak, unguarded expressions, in which his real conceptions will be sure to betray themselves. When Buonconte is describing the manner of his own death, he ends with "*Caddi e rimase la mia carne sola.*"* I fell, and there remained my flesh alone; or, as Mr. Cary translates it, "tenantless my flesh remained." Very similar to this is the language which Cacciaguida uses. He says that he was, by the hands of the infidels "*Disvillupato dal mondo fallace,*"† disentangled from the treacherous world. So too Dante himself prays of Beatrice that his spirit may find favour with her when "*dal corpo si disnodi;*"‡ literally, when it unknots or disentangles itself from the body. But perhaps the most remarkable passage of any is that in which he says, speaking of the general resurrection,—

"Quale i beati al novissimo bando
Surgeran presti, ognun di sua caverna,
La rivestita carne alleviando."§

"At the last audit, so
The blest shall rise, from forth his cavern each,
Uplifting lightly his new-vested flesh."||

Or, more literally, the flesh with which he is re-clothed. The body is as it were nothing: it is the soul within it which is the real person, the source of life and motion. And there is nothing figurative in this, no lurking suspicion in Dante's mind that the language he is using differs in any way from his real thought and meaning. But would it be possible to find, in modern literature, a parallel to its startling earnestness?

There is much, very much, in Dante's manner of thought and expression, which may remind us of the miracle-plays of our own country. We find in each the same vivid conception of the spiritual world, side by side with, yet distinct from, the

* *Purg.* v. 102. † *Par.* xv. 146. ‡ *Par.* xxxi. 90.
§ *Purg.* xxx. 13-15. || Mr. Cary's Translation.

world of matter; the same strange union of Scripture with Pagan and legendary stories, and of the names of real men and women with the fanciful titles and personages of the angelic hierarchy of the upper and lower world. Dante does not indeed confuse history and geography with the unconscious recklessness of those with whom we are now comparing him; but we find in both alike that the imagination is strong at the expense of the intellect, and that their respective provinces are still unsettled; in other words, that the distinction between fact and fiction is really almost unknown. Our early miracle-plays have not as yet received the study and attention they deserve. They are well worth reading for their own sake, but still more for the light which they may be made to throw on Dante. Inferior as they are to him in everything except the power of *ποίησις*, of making something out of nothing, of distinctly realizing the creations of their own fancy, or of the fancy of others, and describing them with a marvellous air of truth and reality, they yet possess, in that one quality, Dante's own most peculiar characteristic. That the loss of this power has been more than made up to us by the possession of the scientific truths which have robbed us of it, it would be absurd to attempt to deny; but it is surely worth while to pay some attention to the operation of a faculty which the world no longer now possesses.

That Dante was deficient in a sense of humour implies a charge which may be laid to so many great and honoured names, that we may well doubt whether it amounts to a charge at all; nay, we may even suspect that a strong sense of the humorous is scarcely compatible with the very highest moral qualities. How great a difference of thought and character its presence would have implied, we may best see by the contrast presented to us in Shakspeare's life and writings; we may compare instructively the evident sympathy which Shakspeare could feel, at least with one side of his nature, with the lovers of "cakes and ale," and of merriment quite beyond the bounds of reason, with Dante's unbending sternness in the presence of vice and folly.

We can all of us remember the way in which Shakspeare deals with Falstaff. He shows him to us with all his faults, an utterly debauched old fellow, boastful, lying, dishonest, sensual, and with all this he has clearly no little affection for him. He can throw himself fully into the character, and trace, with an evident satisfaction, the course of his villany when it succeeds, and the cleverness with which he out-lies or out-blusters what would be to any other man the most entire failure. We learn to laugh at Sir John, but the laugh is more often with him; his vices amuse

but never disgust us ; and his very repentance, in all but one scene, is ridiculous.

Now with all this Dante could have had no sympathy whatever ; he would have met it with the precise feelings of the most rigid Puritan. His stern moral judgment would only have condemned, not only Falstaff's vices, but even the very buffooneries which Shakspeare seems to plead in mitigation of them. There had lived a citizen of Florence, in some points very like Falstaff, but (as far as we know) without any of Falstaff's grosser vices. Dante tells us only that he was a glutton ; we learn* the same from others, with the addition that he was a man of great eloquence and refinement of manner, very funny, and gifted with most charming powers of conversation. Here was just the man in whom Shakspeare would especially have delighted, but let us see what treatment he receives from Dante. We find him in the third circle of Hell, lying for ever under a ceaseless storm of rain and snow, howling like a dog, flayed and torn continually by the teeth of the demon Cerberus. It will be worth our while to turn to the account which Dante gives of him and his fellow-sinners and fellow-sufferers.

“ They all along the earth extended lay,
Save one, that sudden raised himself to sit,
Soon as that way he saw us pass. ‘ O thou !’
He cried, ‘ who through the infernal shades art led,
Own if again thou know’st me. Thou wast framed
Or ere my frame was broken.’ I replied,
‘ The anguish thou endurest perchance so takes
Thy form from my remembrance that it seems
As if I saw thee never. But inform
Me who thou art, that in a place so sad
Art set, and in such torment, that although
Other be greater, none disgusteth more.’
He thus in answer to my words rejoined,
‘ Thy city, heaped with envy to the brim,
Aye, that the measure overflows its bounds,
Held me, in brighter days. Ye citizens
Were wont to name me Ciacco. For the sin
Of gluttony, damned vice, beneath this rain,
E’en as thou seest, I with fatigue am worn :
Nor I sole spirit in this woe : all these
Have by like crime incurr’d like punishment.’ ” †

Some questions are then asked and answered about the

* Boccaccio, Dec. ix. 8. Landino. † Cary's Dante, Canto vi. 36.
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future fate of Florence, and the condition of some of Dante's friends.

"This said, his fix'd eyes he turned askance,
A little eyed me, then bent down his head,
And 'midst his blind companions with it fell.
When thus my guide: 'No more his bed he leaves
Ere the last angel-trumpet blow. The Power,
Adverse to these, shall then in glory come;
Each one forthwith to his sad tomb repair,
Resume his fleshly vesture and his form,
And hear the eternal doom re-echoing rend
The vault.'"²²

Here is startling change enough from Shakspeare's easy tolerance. We may judge in some degree to what lower depth of hell Falstaff would have been consigned, from the measure of punishment which Dante deals out to Ciaccio.

It would be difficult to find two very great men who should differ more entirely than Dante and Shakspeare differed in their lives, and characters, and writings. There was the grave Florentine, once the first citizen of a free republic, and then an exile; hating dependence, and yet compelled to eat another's bread,* however bitter,—to climb another's stairs, however wearisome the road. His enemies were triumphant, his country would not receive him, and his lady had long been dead. To read, and think, and write, are poor consolations, when they are all a man has to console him; when he is shut out from all associations that are dear to him, when he has nothing left to hope for, and no object on earth to love. And this was Dante's portion; and he has left the "*Divina Commedia*" as the record of his sorrows, and of their cure,—of all that he had lost, and all he had to suffer, and of the strong undying faith that bore him through all, and above all, and gave him rest and peace in his solitude, and made him, in his exile, a citizen of the city of God.

We find in Shakspeare's writings the impress of a different, and, we must add, a lower character. His powers of sympathy had indeed a wider range than Dante's, but chiefly because he could sympathize with much which Dante would have condemned and scorned. Instead of Dante's calm self-respect we find in Shakspeare an almost feminine easiness of temper, which shrank alike from asserting its own claims and from condemning others; instead of Dante's sternness of self-control, we find the passionate struggles of a weak erring spirit, and the vain utterances of a repentance, deep indeed, but consciously irresolute. It might seem, in truth, as if the wider range of sympathy, the

* Par. xvii. 58-60.

creative power of mind that can identify itself with all it sees, and think the true thoughts, and speak the language of others, could hardly co-exist with the grand repose of self-contained and self-reliant courage. It is essential for success in dramatic writing that the author's own personality shall never be intruded, that he shall forget himself and live only in his characters. Right and wrong, just and unjust, are no concern of his; he reflects, but he does not discriminate; he relates and describes, but he passes no sentence.

Very different from this was Dante's manner of portraying the men around him: he has stamped his own judgment on all he has told us. His relation of another world is, in fact, his sentence upon the present. A Catholic of the Catholics, he has never allowed his own sympathies to interfere with the Church's teaching. He has disregarded alike the tenderness of private friendship, and the love he bore to the grand old heathen world that had never known Christ. He could feel the deepest pity for many whom he saw condemned. He could feel that there was much in them that was worthy of love and honour. But the unbaptized, and the unrepentant, he saw only in the Inferno; he dared not assign the blessedness of Heaven to those to whom the Church told him it was denied.

The world on which Shakspeare looked was chequered, as Dante's was, with men's vices and errors. He has seen all, he has described all, but he has condemned nothing. We may discover indeed in his historical plays a genuine warmth of patriotism; but from his other dramas we learn nothing of himself, beyond what his very omissions teach us. The persons he brings before us are real human beings, human alike in their faults and excellences. We do not look *on* them, we rather live *in* them, as far as we understand his dramas. It is not so much that we see the working of their minds laid bare, the inner mechanism revealed and plain before us, as that we are compelled for the time to live their life, to think as they would have thought, to speak as they would have spoken. If we cannot feel this, Shakspeare is a closed book to us; and as far as we cannot feel it, we may be sure that we have never really understood him. But when Dante describes, we stand by and look on; we are spectators, but no longer actors. Scene after scene, and person after person, rise up and live before us, men's thoughts are disclosed to us, their words are repeated, their actions and motives are interpreted. But we never forget ourselves in reading the "*Divina Commedia*," as Dante never forgot himself in writing it. In a word, we should say, if we might venture the comparison, that Shakspeare's mind is like the God of the Pantheists, the soul of the universe, living in and animating alike all forms of

being. But if this be so, then Dante's is like the God of the Christian, creator of the world, and yet distinct from it; with whom nothing unjust or unholy can find any favour, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.

That Dante has exercised but little influence in England, that few writers have been affected by him, and that comparatively few readers have cared to study him, is a fact for which several causes may be assigned, in partial excuse of a neglect so little creditable to our taste or judgment. It would be most erroneous to suppose that we have always neglected or undervalued Italian poetry; but it is certainly true that, during the period when it was most popular with us, Dante was not our favourite Italian poet. Little cared for at the time in his own country, he was not likely to be selected for especial attention by foreigners who were seeking instruction and guidance from Italy. So that the blame of our neglect falls with most justice on Dante's own countrymen; it would be hard to insist that our unguided instincts should have chosen correctly in the face of others' judgment; or that Petrarch and Tasso, who were read by Italians, and whose beauties we could perceive and enjoy, should have been laid aside for one for whom Italians cared nothing; and whose writings, however well they may repay study, certainly require it. For there is in truth much in the very nature of Dante's poem which would seem likely enough to prevent it from becoming popular anywhere. Among his own countrymen he has formed no school, and found no imitators. Many have looked on and wondered, but none have been daring enough to attempt to follow in his steps. This circumstance by itself, though it justly adds to his reputation, would be likely in a very considerable degree to lessen his popularity. We ought to remember again, that the "*Divina Commedia*" is a long coherent poem, which has a unity of its own, as truly as a living individual body, and can as little bear to be dismembered. To read it in parts is, therefore, not to read it at all; it is to lose, in fact, its whole meaning and spirit; while to read and study it as a whole, is a work of no small time and labour. Very few readers are likely to take up as a serious occupation the study of a poem which demands little less than the love and labour of a life. Petrarch and Ariosto may be read in detail, and the parts read will lose little by being separated from what surrounds them; and the same is true, though in a less degree, of Tasso. But with Dante we must read the whole, or the parts will be of little value. There have been and doubtless will be some who are willing to undergo the toil of such a study, and who are competent to enjoy the reward it offers them; but their veneration and love are not what is ordinarily meant by popularity.

We must remember, too, that the Catholic spirit in which Dante wrote forms a stumbling-block to Englishmen, which it is not easy for them to surmount. Even where this may have given them no actual offence, it has certainly been a reason why they have failed to appreciate and enjoy his meaning. A nation, whose brightest history has been hitherto the record of the struggle against Rome and her adherents; which has acted in her foreign relations with something of a moral purpose just as far as she has sought to free herself and others from that intolerable bondage, may be excused if she is unable to comprehend the former beauty of that to which she now excusably stands opposed; or if she is unwilling to surrender her fancy to an impossible dream of a Church perfect in the future, which has written its character in letters of fire on her own past history: to a dream from which the noblest thought of Europe has long ago awoke.

It is possible, of course, to live in the present and for the future, and yet to do full justice to the lifeless notions of the past; but it is hardly possible for very sincere Protestants. Those who believe in individual development and in the right of private judgment are scarcely likely to appreciate, as it deserves, the magnificence of a system which rejected both alike when set in the scales against its own growth and influence. It is hardly possible that those can ever be in a position to enjoy Dante, who blaspheme not only against the forms but against the ideas which it was his nature to set up for worship.

It is true, that of late years there has been a change in many degrees for the better. Whether our religious zeal has somewhat abated, or our taste improved, it may not be very easy to determine; but Dante is certainly more studied now than he has been for very long. Translations, particularly of the "*Inferno*," as we have seen, are numerous and widely circulated; criticisms, some of them of a very high order, have occasionally appeared; and allusions to his writings may be detected not unfrequently in portions of our floating literature. But the change, whatever its cause may be, has been quite recent; it would hardly be untrue to say, that there is more of Dante's influence traceable in Chaucer's poems—more genuine evidence that Dante had been read and loved—than in the whole body of English literature (Milton's writings alone excepted) from Chaucer's time to our own.

If the hatred of Catholicism has been a cause, (and we feel sure it has been a principal cause,) why Dante has been so little read in England, we must allow that Mr. Thomas is doing good service by a bold endeavour to divert its virulence. Finding that Englishmen will not read Dante because he is so strictly and entirely a Catholic, he offers the suggestion that the notion has all along been erroneous, and that Dante, though born too soon in time,

was really a Protestant, just as the old Patriarchs are said to have been really Christians. It is difficult to characterize severely enough the amount of misapprehension which this view exhibits. Enough has perhaps been said already about the extent and nature of Dante's religious faith, about his veneration, local and traditional, for Rome, about his essential notion of the Church both militant and triumphant as one and indivisible, and about his strict and stern regard for the most external ordinances of Christianity, to prove that a writer who calls him even by anticipation a Protestant has failed totally to penetrate his meaning and spirit. The eye, proverbially, can seldom see more than it brings with it the wish of seeing. The warmth of Mr. Thomas' charity and the soundness of his own Protestant orthodoxy have forced him to ascribe new motives and views to Dante, which Dante himself would have been the very first to repudiate. It would be impossible, we believe, to exaggerate what would have been his hatred of the essentials of Protestantism, and of the peculiar characteristics of its author. Mahomet, as a schismatic, was seen in the "Inferno" split down the middle from the head to the groin, with his wounds, as they closed up, continually renewed : Farinata, as a believer in false doctrine, was laid for ever in a tomb of fire. Vanni Fucci of Pistoia, for blaspheming God, was plagued by serpents and hunted by the Centaur Cacus : Brutus and Cassius, as disturbers of the course of Rome's supremacy, were torn and flayed in the very mouths of Lucifer. We must leave it to the reader to imagine what combination and increase of these torments would have been devised as sufficient for Martin Luther.

A *subjective* poet (we use with some reluctance a word which has done such good service in metaphysics) is usually understood to mean one who displays in his poems his own character and his own belief and sentiments. The *objective* poet, on the contrary, tells us only of the world without him, while of the writer himself we learn nothing. If this division is adopted Dante must be placed in the former class ; a class generally assumed inferior to the latter, particularly in breadth of thought and universality of vision. We are by no means inclined to acquiesce in so sweeping a judgment ; of course if a poet's own nature is worthless, and his views of no value either moral or scientific, the less we see of either of them the better. The modern spasmodic writers, for example, who tell us chiefly that they know of no laws to which they are or wish to be subject, and that they are unable to control their passions, would do well to find some more valuable topics before they think it worth while to communicate their sentiments in verse. Impatient ignorance, and folly self-deified, are not attributes which we either respect or need ever wish to con-

template. But when a man is wholly given up to the veneration of something beyond himself; when he is subdued into obedience to a system or institution which has power to guide and regulate his intellect, and can command his entire love and reverence, all that he writes, as well as all that he thinks or does, must necessarily bear the mark of its influence. His whole powers will lend themselves only to its expression; and he will represent the world around him as he sees it, not through the changeful and fantastic medium of his own wilful fancy, but as he has been taught to regard it by a force greater than himself, by an object of worship to which he has surrendered his whole faculties. And such an object Dante found in the Church Catholic; an object in which men's faith and love through centuries of European history had found a resting-place; which had solved for them the hard questions of life to which they knew no other key; and had left for them no void unfilled, no conscious want unsatisfied. The system and its followers have indeed no abiding-place among ourselves; we have a right now to treat it as a creation of the past, which has vanished, as other creeds have, with the occasions and circumstances that gave it birth, except indeed as far as it still exerts an influence which has become confessedly provisional; we have other wants, which it cannot satisfy, other difficulties, to which it can furnish no solution. But we do wrong if we judge in any way of its past might from the spectacle of its present weakness. It was once a necessity that the greatest men's highest thoughts and aims, should receive their direction only by submitting to its guidance. Dante, therefore, was a subjective poet; not, as men are now, by the tyranny of an undisciplined will, but by an absolute submission to that which he recognised as greater than himself, and by the perfect liberty of obedience and love.

POSTSCRIPT TO ART. VI.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN in his Message, delivered on the 4th December, while declaring secession to be unconstitutional, somewhat paradoxically states that Congress has no power to put down such revolutions; yet he remarks, that should the South Carolinians attempt to take possession of the forts, magazines, arsenals, and other property of the Union, the Federal officers have received orders to act on the defensive. Even on defensive grounds, in the event of secession being determined upon, it is clear that the national army would soon be brought into direct conflict with the insurgents. In such a case would the forces of the United States be unequal to the army of a single one? During the strife, would the slaves, who compose 57 per cent. of the whole population, be simple lookers on? The Palmetto State had better halt in its headlong career.

Mr. Buchanan dilates upon the insecurity which at present surrounds the family altar of the slaveholders, and the horrors which would be the result of a servile war, but the advice he offers, if followed, will rather tend to hasten than prevent the evil.

The remedy, says the President, lies with Congress, which has the power to amend the "Constitution;" and he suggests the following "explanatory amendments of the constitution on the subject of slavery :—"

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves, in the States where it now exists, *or may hereafter exist.*

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all State laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the constitution, and are consequently null and void.

These concessions the North will not submit to. The Republican party would prefer to let South Carolina go peacefully out of the Union. The question is a grave one, and great uncertainty still surrounds its solution.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

DR. TISCHENDORF has acted considerably towards the literary world, in publishing a list of the manuscript treasures brought home by him from the peninsula of Sinai; and especially in giving a foretaste of what we are to expect from the Codex Sinaiticus,¹ which contains the greater part of the Old Testament (in Greek) and the whole of the New. This MS. appears to belong to the middle of the fourth century, and may be the oldest transcript of the Scriptures which we possess. It is designed to publish an edition of 300 copies of it in facsimile type, at the cost of the Emperor Alexander, which copies will be munificently presented to the principal European libraries. This work it is designed to accomplish in the year 1862. At the same time will be given to the general public, and at a very moderate price, an edition of the New Testament, in ordinary type, representing the Codex, to be published by Brockhaus at Leipsig, and which will be followed by the Old Testament in like manner. The Codex, which Tischendorf intends to designate by the note $\aleph$, it need not be said is uncial, and without accents, notes or divisions of words. It has a general resemblance to that which is familiar to ourselves as the Alexandrian MS. of the British Museum; it contains on each page four columns, of forty-eight lines each, three words on an average in a line: 199 pages of the MS. belong to the Old Testament and Apocrypha; the earlier books of the former up to Chron. 1. are however wanting, as is part of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and three of the minor prophets. The order and contents of the New Testament are, four Gospels as usual, Rom: Cor: (2), Gal: Eph: Phil: Col: Thess: (2), Heb: Tim: (2), Tit: Philem: Acts, James, Pet: (2), John (3), Jude, Rev: to which are added the epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd. The occurrence of these two last in the Codex is the more observable as tending to fix its age to a period not later than the middle of the fourth century, since in the Canon of the Council of Laodicea those books were not included. We can only notice with respect to the readings of the MS., that they are in unison generally with those admitted or conjectured hitherto by the best critics. The text, 1 John v. 7, is of course absent, and those familiar with the evidence will be prepared in 1 Tim. iii. 16,

¹ "Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. Accedit Catalogus Codicum nuper ex Oriente Petropolin perlatum. Item Origenis Scholia in Proverbia Salomonis partim nunc primum partim secundum atque emendatius edita." Edidit Aenoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, Th. et Ph. Doc., &c., &c. London: Williams and Norgate, 1860.

for *ὅς ἐφανερώθη*; John viii. 1, &c. is absent, as is the concluding passage in Mark xvi. verses 8—20, in accordance with the Vatican MS. The absence of these verses from the earliest MSS. is the more interesting, because we are thus enabled to peel off two superstitious accretions upon primitive Christianity; first, there disappears all authority for anathematizing unbelievers, as rested upon the supposition that Jesus himself ever used such words as, "he that believeth not shall be damned;" secondly, there disappears likewise the promise of continual miraculous power to believers, which some Churches have deceptively claimed, while others, aware that they did not possess it, have lamented its loss, and have thereupon fancied themselves defective. We may add perhaps that if ver. 19 ceases to belong to the Gospel, the record of the corporeal ascension is confined to the passages Luke xxiv. 51, Acts, i. 2, 9, and the Scriptural authority for an expression in Art. IV. of the Church of England, of "sitting at the right hand," &c. is brought to nothing.

As a supplemental volume to his life of Ulrich von Hutten,² Dr. Strauss issues a translation from the Latin of some of that Reformer's Dialogues. They remind us of the Colloquies of Erasmus, but with less of elegance, and they are directed generally to the same end—the exposure of monkery: in zeal and indignation Hutten reminds us of Luther himself, yet coming short of the leader of the Reformation in personal character and in the strength which belongs to personal worth. Hutten must have seriously damaged his own cause and that of his brother Reformers by an immoral life. The chief interest, however, of the present volume consists in the Preface, in which Strauss takes up a challenge which has often of late years been thrown down to him. It has been repeated contemptuously by the orthodox, that Strauss is obsolete, and that theological discussion has left far behind the "*Leben-Jesu*." If this be true, it is not so in the sense in which the opponents of Strauss would have it understood. He reminds them that his work was founded upon a criticism of the three Synoptics, and that the genuineness and authenticity of the fourth Gospel were left entirely untouched by him. He did not even invoke in support of his own conclusions the evident discrepancy in theological stand-point, in style and tone, and in the material of the narratives, between the three first Gospels and the fourth. If discussion has since been raised on these particulars, it cannot be said to have been closed by establishing that the fourth Gospel is St. John's, or even the production of an eyewitness, or that its composition approaches so nearly in date the events which it narrates as do the other Gospels. Hence, as the insufficiency of the external evidence to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel histories became more apparent, it was seen to affect with its own uncertainty all the inferences which can be drawn from them. And such a person as Schleiermacher—while in his pulpit discourses he dwelt on the spiritual and moral effects of the New Testament, drawing from its didactic portions freely and without misgiving, as from a fountain

² "*Gespräche von Ulrich von Hutten, übersetzt und erläutert von David Friedrich Strauss.*" Williams and Norgate, London: Edinburgh, 1860.

undefiled—would rather allegorise the miraculous narratives, and depicted the portrait of the Founder of Christianity with a tremulous hand.

Moreover, since the appearance of the "Leben-Jesu," the progress of scientific investigation has rendered daily more and more obvious that the "Rationalistic" solution of the Gospel miracles is untenable; those portions of the work, therefore, which were specially addressed to that argument have become in a certain sense obsolete, because now superfluous to a largely increased number of educated persons. Herein is no source of triumph to the orthodox party; nor has Strauss any reason to be dismayed at the success which has attended such mediating attempts as those of Ewald. Ewald is seldom thorough. He will commence a critical examination of a supernatural narrative, and having carried it half way to a destructive conclusion will pass off to some moral application or some figurative meaning—for which there may be room in its proper place, only it should not be proposed as a solution. Strauss has not been damaged by such attempts as these. It would be desirable for the greater part of this Preface to be translated and published as a separate tract, in English.

Strauss, moreover, thinks the circumstances of the present time—which has witnessed an Austrian Concordat, and the resuscitation of a rampant Ultramontaniam in France—render appropriate the reproducing the pungent Colloquies of Hutten, which were levelled at corruptions in the Papal Churches, only surpassing those of this day in a certain superficial grossness.

The free-thinkers of the last century did only part of a work, and that frequently in exceptionable taste. In directing the shafts of his irresistible ridicule against the superstitions with which he was surrounded, it must be allowed, even by his greatest admirers in the present day, that Voltaire very frequently wounded real religion and morals. Consequently, the superstitions have recovered their life, because the religion and morality could not be slain. Truly it may be necessary, with respect to a large portion of ancient beliefs, to abide permanently in a negative result, in which case the necessity for caution and delicacy of handling is the greater; but wherever it may be possible, it is demanded both in the interests of truth and of philanthropy, to point out what is unquestioned, or what may be substituted for that which is taken away—to give confidence to the less bold that they are not to be left without all spiritual sustaining—that the essentials of religion and morality will be undisturbed. This is the more requisite because the appeal in such discussions must now be made not merely to a few *esprits forts*, or *intelligences d'élite*, but to the generality of men. Formerly, theological conflicts were carried on solely by the learned, in a dead language, or at least in ponderous tomes which effectually concealed the issues from the less learned; the common soldiers had little to do with the real battle: the populations in spirituals as in temporals, followed the fortunes of their leaders. The populations will now have to give their verdict on religious questions, as well as their votes on political constitutions. It is essential for those who have the interest of the

citizens at heart in these matters, to place before them, in forms intelligible to the understanding of average men, the questions at issue, and the criticisms and arguments which bear upon them. This is what M. Patrice Larroque has efficiently done in his "Critical Examination of Christianity,"³ and his "Renovation of Religion."⁴

No one can deny that M. Larroque is competent to be a leader of the people in these matters, as far as the qualification of learning goes; and in the critical part of his work, that at least which concerns the interpretation of Scripture, however much opposed to current representations, no one can say that he is not a sufficient authority, or reasonably repudiate the conclusions to which he comes. He vindicates at the onset the sufficiency of reason as the instrument of inquiry into theological doctrines; for it would be absurd that God should give man reason, and then bid him to disregard its verdict; nor can the Christian doctrines be withdrawn from the province of reason, because of their being assumed to be mysteries. For there is a confusion in the controversial use of the word mystery; sometimes it signifies "that which is concealed," and we may believe that something is concealed, though we cannot believe *what*, until it be revealed: but in another sense, "mystery" is employed by Christian dogmatists to signify that which is contradictory in its terms, and we cannot believe that which cannot be presented to the understanding. M. Larroque truly observes that the dogmatical part of Christianity, as ecclesiastically delivered, reposes on the supposition of original sin; although he attributes too much of this doctrine to Gen. iii., where nothing is to be found even of Satan, much less of utter corruption, or of eternal punishment. These are subsequent developments. From the doctrine of original sin, M. Larroque passes on to those of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Atonement, bringing the dogmas at one time to the intellectual test—as of the inconceivableness of one Will in the three personalities of the Trinity, or of two Wills, the divine and human, united in the one personality of Jesus—at another, to the test of the moral sense, as in the case of the doctrines of vicarious satisfaction, imputation of merits and eternal punishment. Other doctrines which he examines are peculiar to the Roman church. In a second part, he subjects to a searching criticism the Scriptures themselves, on which these dogmatisms are founded, and shows that they cannot be considered infallible or consistent, either as historical documents, or as spiritual authorities. Having done this, M. Larroque thinks that he has demolished Christianity—in which respect we must express an opinion that he shows, to speak of nothing else, a deficiency in philosophic language, as will be understood by those who have read the first-rate Essay of M. E. Renan, in the "*Révue des deux Mondes*" (Oct. 1860), on "*l'Avenir Religieux des Sociétés modernes*."

³ "Examen Critique des Doctrines de la Religion Chrétienne," par Patrice Larroque, ancien Recteur de l'Académie de Lyon. 2ième édition. 2 tomes. London: D. Nutt, 1860.

⁴ "Rénovation Religieuse" par Patrice Larroque, ancien Recteur de l'Académie de Lyon. 2ième édition. London: D. Nutt, 1860.

Having swept away the whole of the Bible, not only as authority, but even as history and record, M. Larroque proceeds in the third volume to construct a religion of pure Theism, the creed of which he resumes : as a belief in God as Author and Governor of the universe by general laws, in the free-will of man as a moral agent, in the immortality of the soul, and a progressive future life.

Dr. Hessey has produced a series of Bampton Lectures,⁵ not so pretentious in their subject or their treatment as those of some of his predecessors, but characterized with great moderation as well as furnished with sufficient learning. He is very successful in the theoretical part of his undertaking. He puts aside, as in fact destitute of any satisfactory proof, on the one side, the Sabbatarian hypothesis, according to which the Christian Sunday would rest, with a change of the day, upon a Mosaic or supposed primeval institution ; on the other side, an extreme Dominical hypothesis, which would represent it as deriving its sanction from an express and supernatural appointment by the Lord himself, or his Apostles. The abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath is distinctly laid down in the New Testament ; nor is the religious observance of the first day of the week more than indicated, although it may be indicated. And Dr. Hessey adopts the view of its being of *ecclesiastical* origin ; but ecclesiastical even in the Church of the Apostles ; and though Apostolical in one sense, not Apostolical in the way of an appointment supernaturally dictated. The observance of the day arose spontaneously from the very first, from the wants and aspirations of the Christian society ; *naturally*, but not on that account the less *divinely*. And when the Spirit of Christ working in the congregation threw forth freely this ordinance of a Lord's Day, it had respect, doubtless, by analogy, to the Sabbath of the Mosaic Law ; but not in servile imitation, nor as copying from it the mode in which it should serve to holiness, nor resting upon it for authority. We should be very glad to see a like hypothesis employed, and with equal temper, to account for the institution and the early forms of the Christian Ministry. It would, we think, within a considerable range conciliate a variety of opinions now hostile or hopelessly divergent. Dr. Hessey's views are also distinguished by great practical good sense, when he comes to speak of the limits within which the action of the State is permissible relative to the Sunday in the present circumstances of our own country.

Whether a Bishop of the English Church goes out of his way to fulminate safely in a Charge against opinions which for a time may be unpopular or ill-understood, or whether he is stung into the much greater rashness of publishing a controversial pamphlet, he demonstrates to the extreme satisfaction of that portion of the general public which takes any note of such matters the very safe limits within which

⁵ "Sunday. Its Origin, History and Present Obligation, considered in Eight Lectures, Preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1860, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury." By James Augustus Hessey, D.C.L., Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School ; Preacher to the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, &c., &c. London : Murray, 1860.

episcopal authority is in this country confined. A Bishop speaks, but all things continue as they were, except that the prestige of the Episcopal name is, to some extent, damaged. Those who are ever ready to call upon bishops to drive away heresy, should remember this before they stir up their ecclesiastical superiors to commit themselves. The Bishop of St. David's must feel little thankful to the "more than seventy beneficed clergymen" of his diocese, who brought before his notice the supposed heresies of Dr. Rowland Williams,⁶ and so entangled him ultimately in a controversy with a person at least his equal in learning, and, if not much better tempered than himself, evidently surpassing him in quickness of wit. At the same time, justice requires us to say in reviewing the steps of this controversy, that Dr. Williams expected originally too much of the Bishop. We put out of sight all private correspondence, which ought never to have been publicly referred to on either side; but the Charge of 1857 of which Dr. Williams complains, was really as favourable to him as he could have reasonably expected from any Episcopal nature. If it did not vindicate his views, it was not in parts without showing some sympathy with them, and gave no triumph, morally or materially, to his accusers. It was no small thing to stand his ground legally against the seventy mountaineers; and his ultimate justification towards the College of St. David's was to be seen in the continuance of its prosperity under his tuition. It would be impossible to follow these two learned divines in the citations and other hard sayings which they hurl at each other's heads. Only we may consider some such result as this to have been gained from the collision between two persons who still have so much in common; that views like those of Dr. Williams on Inspiration, on Prophecy, on Miracles, are not only tenable by Ministers of the English Church, but, in principle at least, may be supported by authorities to which the most orthodox defer; and that there is room, even under the existing formularies, for eliciting on those subjects many important conclusions consistent with a right reading of the Biblical records, and with right reason.

We have before expressed an opinion, that the theology of that most excellent and deservedly respected person, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, would prove extremely disappointing. We referred then to the obscurity which his metaphysics have imported into it. We have also had to notice a reactionary tendency occasioned, apparently, or shaped by the position taken by him in a recent controversy. But more disheartening to the friends of free thought than anything which has

⁶ "An Earnestly Respectful Letter to the Lord Bishop of St. David's, on the Difficulty of bringing Theological Questions to an Issue; with Special Reference to his Lordship's Charge of 1857, and his Forthcoming Charge of 1860." By Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew in St. David's College, Lampeter. Cambridge: Deighton. London: Bell and Daldy, 1860.

"A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, in Answer to his 'Earnestly Respectful Letter,' &c.; with an Appendix, containing an Extract from the Bishop's Charge of 1857." By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London: Rivingtons, 1860.

"A Critical Appendix upon the Lord Bishop of St. David's Reply." By the author of "An Earnestly Respectful Letter to his Lordship."

proceeded from his pen, is his publication on the subject of the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles.⁷ He had, of course, to make the usual subscriptions and declarations of assent on entering upon his benefice. It was an occasion on which he might have done something to forward the cause, if not of revision, of relaxation. Instead of a fulsome laudation of the Formularies, he might have said, that he made these subscriptions and declarations as the legal condition annexed to the possession of his preferment; but that he held, like Archdeacon Paley, he was not bound thereby to an approval of every rubric in the Prayer Book, or to every one of the six hundred propositions contained in the Articles. It is the more unfortunate that a person of Mr. Maurice's influence should affect to hug his chains, at a time when some within the Church are struggling to break them, and Nonconformists, many of them the spiritual descendants of the 2000 Church of England clergymen, who "went out" on the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, are curiously watching the result. It must be very startling to Nonconformist ministers, it must have been very startling to many of Mr. Maurice's own Church of England congregation, to hear "I do not believe that we should dare to tell you that you *have* all a Heavenly Father, that you may verily and indeed call yourselves God's children, if we had not the Prayer-Book to direct us." (p. 10.) Moreover, there is a continual slurring over and keeping out of sight the real difficulties belonging to certain of the Anglican statements. Thus we are told (p. 19) that if we accept the teaching of the Baptismal Service, and of the Catechism, we must attribute to the Spirit of God "all the good thoughts of the child," "all its perceptions of an unrealised world," "its intuitions of a spiritual world," "its capacity of understanding and making itself understood," "the awakening of conscience in the boy," and the fitting of the youth "for the work of manhood." If we go to those formularies, we may certainly infer something like this concerning the *baptized*; but what of the *unbaptized*? Whence, according to the Church of England, come to the unbaptized their "perceptions," "intuitions," "capacities," and powers? Will Mr. Maurice, or any other clergyman, maintain that he can distinguish in infant, child, youth, or grown person, a difference in the "perceptions," the "intuitions," the "capacities," the "conscience," the moral powers, of the baptized and unbaptized? But that is what he should be able to do before he exalts the formularies of his Church, as if there were any really substantial ground for the views they give on these subjects. To read this vindication of subscription by Mr. Maurice, one would not suppose there was such an expression in the Catechism as "a child of wrath," or that the word "regenerate" occurred in the Baptismal and Confirmation Services.

In like manner with the Articles. On the first, he may well approve the foundation statement that God is "without body, parts, or pas-

⁷ "The Faith of the Liturgy and the Doctrine of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Two Sermons, the substance of which was preached at St. Peter's, Vere Street, on Sunday, September 9th, 1860." By the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co., 1860.

sions;" but it is meagre if not miserable, and equally so to the Unitarian and Trinitarian, to shut up what follows in such a way as this:—"The Article goes on to speak of that name into which we are baptized; the name which compasses every child; *the Name which the Magdalen knows when she confesses her sins*; the name which expresses perfect Goodness, Wisdom, and Power; the name which is the ground for all dependence and trust." (p. 30.) There are many Magdalens, we apprehend, and who will be "in no wise cast out," who yet know nothing of "three Persons in one Godhead." The learned incumbent might even have explained to the ignorant of his congregation the word "Godhead;" and to the instructed it might not have been amiss to have said something about the word "Persons." The controversies supposed to be closed up in this Article, inasmuch as he says nothing of them, Mr. Maurice may consider to have been founded on logical subtleties, or on an exploded metaphysic, or on a narrow interpretation of Scriptural texts; but they are not without occasioning difficulties to some minds even yet; and it might have consoled some and guided others if Mr. Maurice had told us the root of his thought about them—if he had thought it now high time, that the words Trinitarian and Unitarian should cease to furnish sectarian distinctions, it would have been a deep comfort to many, had he said so. So, on the second Article, Mr. Maurice dilates upon what is a difficulty, as we believe, to no one in England but himself—namely, how the Father can be said to be "reconciled" to us; for if God is, by a metaphor, said to be "angry," we can see no incoherence in his being said, by a like metaphor, to be "reconciled;" he dilates upon this matter, but upon the mighty and mysterious doctrines of the eternal generation of the Son, of the Incarnation, of the union of the two natures, not a hint. To take one more instance: the fourth Article is thus dismissed—"It is most needful that there should be a distinct and direct announcement of Christ's actual and bodily resurrection out of the grave, and of his ascent to his Father's right hand. This was the great subject of the apostolical preaching; this was the witness that our nature is really justified and glorified in its Head. This is the pledge that He will be revealed to judge the world, and to set all things right." (p. 33.) Mr. Maurice knows enough of the theological discussions of recent years to be aware that this Article presents to many minds a jumble of contradictions, and that the impossibility of finding a satisfactory solution of the questions which it raises, has been the turning point with some, whether or not they must renounce the Church which makes it part of her creed, or even the Christian name. How could Mr. Maurice, with any complacency, utter such puerilities as we have quoted, when people were listening to him, following him Prayer-book in hand, from Article to Article, in whose minds he must have known would arise such questions as these, "How can a body sit at the right hand of a spirit?" or if the "right hand" be a figure of speech, is not the sitting? and if the sitting, is not the body? Or may not the returning to judgment, and the last day, be metaphorical likewise? And if the Ascension, after all, is a metaphorical one, one "of heart and mind," may not the Resurrection be so too? We should have liked to hear him say that it

would be better if the Article were expunged, or if not that, maintain that its declarations may be taken figuratively throughout. We could make like observations on what Mr. Maurice has said on many other topics—on the three Creeds, where he takes no exception to the Athanasian, or even to its damnable clauses, on Original Sin, on Justification, on the Sacraments. And while glorifying the Church, whenever she has laid a bondage upon her members, he is entirely silent as to any praise where she has really left them free; it might have been alluded to, that she has not laid down any dogmatic statement concerning the Inspiration of Scripture, or concerning Prophecy, or concerning Miracles. If Mr. Maurice had contented himself with going through the formal acts required at his institution and induction, as most clergymen do, the same indulgence would have been extended to him as is conceded to them, out of the acquiescence in whatever is ordained by law, and out of the disposition to respect any right of property, which are so natural to Englishmen. The incumbent of St. Peter's would never have been twitted with his bondage, if he had not drawn attention himself to the mark of the collar upon his neck.

Certainly one of the ablest pamphlets we recollect of late years is that of the Rev. Isaac Taylor on the "Liturgy and the Dissenters."⁸ The end he proposes to attain is clearly defined, the facts on which he relies are comprehended within a reasonable period and are well marshalled, his inferences are driven home with a force from which there is no escaping. He succeeds in showing to any but the wilfully blind, that the effect of all Revisions of the Formularies of the National Church since the Reformation has been to narrow more and more its boundaries—that especially was this the case at the time of the last Revision and of the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4. His position is unassailable that an Established Church is a national institution, and as such, "Every citizen of the State has a beneficial interest in her endowments, and a personal concern in the teaching of her formularies." (p. 10.) The historical evidence is complete of the successive alienations of large bodies of the population from the communion of the English Church. In addition to grievances of conscience, it is evident that a material wrong is inflicted on all who are unnecessarily driven out of the national communion, whether they be ministers or laymen. And it is evident, likewise, in what this process must end. Putting it, therefore, on the lowest ground, it is required for the preservation of the Church as an institution, and as an act of simple justice to large bodies of the citizens now unnecessarily excluded, that the narrowing process should be at length reversed. This can only be effectually accomplished by a total repeal or very substantial modification of the Caroline Act of Uniformity.

We cannot afford space to say much on matters which may be considered ecclesiastical⁹—such as controversies concerning forms of Church government, differences between the Established Church and

⁸ "The Liturgy and the Dissenters." By the Rev. Isaac Taylor, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge; Curate of Trotterscliffe. Third Edition. London: Hatchard & Co., 1860.

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the unestablished communions, as such; questions concerning the lawfulness of State endowment, and the like. Nevertheless, in some of their phases, questions of this kind may be linked on to more speculative inquiries; and the practical solution of them, if that were possible, might have an important bearing on the cause of truth, or, at least, of charity. Some movements will undoubtedly be made in the ensuing session of Parliament towards a revision of the formularies of the Established Church, or, if not that, towards a relaxation of their stringent obligation in their present form. Such movements will interest various parties within and without the Church. Indeed, it is evident that unless some proceedings be taken, conciliatory to the Protestant and liberal feeling of the country, the days of the Established Church are numbered. Churchmen of various shades of opinion are beginning to be aware of this, and to perceive that, notwithstanding a Church-rate Abolition Bill may be defeated for a session or two, the Nonconformists are masters of the situation. From a bare and niggardly toleration, they have risen to an equality with Churchmen in all civil and political rights; they hold their property securely under their trust-deeds, protected by the general law of the land, without incurring any servile obligations to the State; their leading ministers in towns enjoy incomes considerably above those of Church-of-England clergymen, except a few of the highest dignitaries; their influence with the middle classes, which are the governing classes, is much greater. If the country ministers who serve the rural chapels are not equal in education to the ministers in towns, they are adequately educated, and adequately earnest in their work for the tasks which they undertake; and they are not liable, if deficient in manners and learning, to be lifted by some caprice of patronage into situations where they will bring discredit on their office.⁹

The chief defects in the Nonconformist clergy at present are seen in a certain narrowness which they contract in ministerial seminaries; in some want of polish and taste in their literary productions, and in the limited portion of the intellectual field which they usually cultivate. They are however much better acquainted with the points really at issue in their controversy with Churchmen than these latter are. This last fact cannot be more strikingly exemplified than in Mr. Binney's¹⁰ book on Church life in Australia with its Appendix. Dr. Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide, is an amiable person of evangelical sentiments. Mr. Binney has no prejudices against Episcopacy in the abstract, or against liturgical forms; the Bishop and Mr. Binney met, co-operated on some occasions and entertained for each other a mutual respect; if ever there was an opportunity for a friendly

⁹ A smart brochure has just come to our hand, entitled "Examination for Bishoprics and other Dignities in the Church of England." London; George Manwaring, 1860. To the tests there suggested to be applied to Episcopal candidates, might very well be added a little sixth-form boy examination in the rudiments of Latin and in the construing of the Greek Testament.

¹⁰ "Lights and Shadows of Church Life in Australia: including Thoughts on some Things at Home." By T. Binney. To which is added, "Two Hundred Years Ago: Then and Now." Second Edition. London: Jackson and Walford. 1860.

approximation it was offered under these circumstances. We cannot go through the correspondence which ensued, but in the end the Bishop felt himself obliged by the law of his Church to withhold the concessions which personally he had been prepared to make. And the result is this, that the Church of England in her present condition can talk of unity and comprehension, as the Church of Rome does, but all the reciprocity she offers is one-sided, the unity and comprehension must be brought about by an unconditional surrender on the part of the Nonconformist to her order and government. The stringency of the present Episcopacy and of the present Uniformity of the Church, date, it must be observed, from the Act of 1662; before that time we think it likely Mr. Binney would have been a Churchman; on the passing of that Act, he would have been one of the 2000 ministers who withdrew. The only hope for the Church as to any healing of ecclesiastical wounds, and ultimately as to her own preservation as a national institution, is to procure a repeal, in its main provisions at least, of that unhappy Act; and inasmuch as she could not flatter herself that non-conforming ministers and congregations would return to her communion by thousands, hundreds, or even tens, she must meanwhile recognise these non-conforming congregations as churches, and allow of some interchange of Christian offices, corporately between herself and them, individually between her ministers and theirs.

It is evident that some change must shortly take place in the methods by which Christian Missionaries approach those whom they would convert, especially our fellow subjects in India. Denunciations of Paganism as a work of Satan are not likely to conciliate much attention from Pagans, and will not much longer be the best platform commonplaces for obtaining guineas. The fact is beginning to dawn upon the Missionary Societies that some among the heathen have a great deal more to say for their systems than they have had credit for in Christendom, and are not deficient in the wit which enables them to say it with point. Dr. Ballantyne¹¹ has occupied positions which enable him to speak on these subjects with authority and effect. He is thoroughly acquainted with the philosophical systems of the Hindus, and has had ample opportunities of witnessing the failures of unlearned and incompetent missionaries. The introduction to his "Bible for the Pandits" abounds with information respecting the entanglements with which an incautious "Evangelical" is likely to be involved in discussion with the learned men of India; and he has made it exceedingly lively to read by the pungent remarks which are interspersed on the polemical theology of such periodicals as the "Record." In the specimen which Dr. Ballantyne has given of his proposed treatment of the Biblical monuments themselves, we must confess that he has fallen

¹¹ "The Bible for the Pandits." [Specimen Fasciculus.] The first three chapters of Genesis diffusely and unreservedly commented in Sanskrit and English, by James R. Ballantyne, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College, Benares. London: James Madden. Benares: Lazarus and Co., 1860.

far short of the freedom which we had hoped. He may have relieved his Version of some blots which disfigure that of the Baptist Missionaries, but when he resorts to the Vision hypothesis for a solution of the astronomical and geological difficulties of Gen. 1., finds the source of the river of Paradise parted into four heads—of which one is *Euphrates*—in the melting snows of the Himalaya, accepts literally the formation of Eve out of the rib of Adam, and likewise literally the allegory of the serpent, which nevertheless is Satan himself; we do not think he will recommend his Biblical theology to any Hindu who may be acute enough to abandon the superstitions in which he has been brought up.

In a very interesting work of an entirely different description, Joguth Chunder Gangooly,¹² a high caste native, describes the religion of the Hindoos as it really is in its everyday practices and social effects. He represents to us the Hindoo society split into a multiplicity of castes, or sub-divisions of castes, paralysed, in consequence, for any great co-operative work, deprived of half its power by the degradation of an utterly uneducated female sex, and overburdened in the whole of its daily life by superstitious ceremonials. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta, Mr. Gangooly was brought into immediate contact with English religion and civilization. The result was that he imbibed a rational Christianity, as it were immediately from the words of Jesus himself—not coming to the Gospel through the law, and therefore not receiving it with Mosaic or Alexandrine additions. His piety was too warm to be satisfied with the negations of the Calcutta Deists, but too rational to accept the dogmas of original sin, eternal damnation, vicarious atonement, and the like. He afterwards went to America to qualify himself under the auspices of the Unitarian Association, and he expresses a confident opinion that if Unitarians would send out missionaries they would meet with less difficulty in Christianizing the natives than the other Christian bodies. But it is necessary that Christianity should be true to its own principles, if it would regenerate Hindoo society, and it must strike at the institution of caste and demand the elevation of the female.

It may well be doubted whether the phenomena of dreams, apparitions, animal magnetism and of "Spiritualism," are really capable of being reduced into any scientific order, or of furnishing ground as yet for any scientific or practical inferences. We cannot generalize from facts which rest on evidence of every variety of degree. A phenomenon attested insufficiently for belief, may yet be attested sufficiently to suggest experiment and verification, but until experiment and verification report that we are in presence of a uniform law, we must suspend our judgment as to the meaning of the separate facts: and if we arrange related facts empirically in groups by reason of some outward resemblances, we must beware of assuming prematurity that we have ascertained real relations. For these reasons we

¹² "Life and Religion of the Hindoos; with a Sketch of my Life and Experience." Joguth Chunder Gangooly (baptized Philip). London: E. T. Whitfield, 1860.

do not think that any results, scientifically speaking, have been arrived at by a collection of such stories, interesting and engaging as they are, which we meet with in the "Footfalls on the Boundary of another World."¹³ We must also bear in mind how prone men are to draw inferences on such subjects in accordance with preconceived theological doctrines, and the stories in this volume have many of them an obvious connexion with the doctrine of a *Scheol*, *Hades*, or intermediate state—some of them are even rendered suspicious by the intervention of a Romish priest. The book itself does not require any recommendation to promote its popularity, and if it leads to sober investigation, on the principles indicated in the preface, the cause of truth will ultimately be the gainer.

"Put forth as miracles, ultra-mundane phenomena are justly rejected as incredible; as inconsistent with the progress of our present knowledge, and at variance with the teachings of modern science. But when presented as classes of natural occurrences, unexplained indeed, governed by laws yet unknown or obscurely discerned, but as surely embraced in the ordered economy of the world as the storm or the sunshine, the aspect of the question changes. The inquiry is no longer whether God, to meet a special emergency, suspends, from time to time, one or other of His laws, but only whether we have hitherto overlooked a portion of these laws; that portion which serves to connect the next phase of our existence with the present." p. xii.

The author of "Christ the Spirit,"¹⁴ hopes to win back those who are alienated from the religion of the Bible, by distinguishing between its kernel and its shell, between the Truth and its Vehicle, between the Symbol and the Idea.

"With regard to the Scriptures" he says, "the most simple see the truth in the literal sense; another class see nothing but absurdities and nonsense, mere rubbish, in the literal meaning, and so, perhaps, proudly reject the whole; while another class, more sober and grave, perhaps older and more experienced, are disposed to suspend their opinions for a time, until they can look round and see whether the meaning is so visibly on the surface as the first supposes, and may not lie even deeper than the second imagines."—p. viii.

No mere writing, he says, can be divine, except in a qualified sense—but in such a sense there is no difficulty in acknowledging that the Biblical authors, notwithstanding many errors, spoke as moved by a Holy Spirit of Truth; and the suggestions in this volume may be considered as specially addressed to those who do not know how to deal with the miraculous portions of the Scriptures; for it is true that they are so imbedded in the rest of the history, that it is not possible to withdraw them without doing violence to the unity of the whole. Briefly, the author considers all such portions as symbolical. And not

¹³ "Footfalls on the Boundary of another World. With Narrative Illustrations." By Robert Dale Owen, formerly Member of Congress, and American Minister to Naples. From the Tenth American Edition; with emendations and additions by the author. London: Trübner & Co., 1860.

¹⁴ "Christ the Spirit: being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity." By the author of "Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists;" and "Swedenborg a Hermetic Philosopher." Second Edition. Enlarged. New York: Francis & Co., 1860.

only that, but he treats as symbolical the entire Gospel history. He draws out with great force the evidence, negative and positive, against the historical character of the life of Jesus; but feels at the same time the moral impossibility of attributing the composition of the Gospel to any base or untruthful design. All interpreters apply the key of Symbolism to some portions of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, although they differ as to the extent of its legitimate use. We must not interpret symbolically that which is capable of a symbolical interpretation, unless there is reason to suppose that it was intended symbolically; that is, both to conceal from some and to reveal to others the truth which it involves. We may *apply* indeed, as for a hortative purpose, and to a moral use, such stories as those of feeding with bread in the wilderness, or of walking on the waves of the sea, without determining anything as to the historic character of the narrative. But as interpreters we must make up our minds whether they are to be taken according to the letter or not. Now it is not a simple alternative between the objective truth of the supernatural particulars in the Gospels as we have them, and the designed symbolical construction of them; and our author seems to have left out of his examination a possible hypothesis, that they may be a spontaneous legendary product, subjectively true, yet not without an ideal element. He considers the Gospels to be, in fact, the secret writings of the Essenes, a society having resemblance to a Masonic brotherhood, even if it were not one, and the object of their authors to have been, at once to veil the truth from the uninitiate and to reveal it to initiates. "From the point of view taken in this volume, the differences above recited [between the several Evangelists] can give no uneasiness whatever. In point of fact they strengthen the view of the author, for they seem to show that while the Gospel-writers wrote independently, in a great degree, of each other, and independently of outward history, they were all bound together by a common doctrine, the doctrine of the Spirit,—the secret doctrine of the Essene Society." p. 465.

Dr. Beard's "Reasons why I am a Unitarian,"¹⁵ gives fair statements as far as they go, but by no means covers the field of controversy which the title suggests. For instance, the state of the argument from Scripture on both sides is by no means gone into. The discussion is too much confined to what has been called the arithmetical question, and does not touch, or scarcely, on other really more important questions at issue between the Unitarians and the orthodox, such as those connected with the dogmas of original sin, satisfaction, justification by faith. Dr. Beard seems to desire to perpetuate the name of Unitarian as a denominational distinction; whereas, the better prospect of Unitarianism is to inoculate with itself the orthodox churches, so that if it could be brought about that the Athanasian statements should be dropped, Unitarianism, as a form of Protestantism, would disappear, for no Protestantism can live, when its antagonist is dead.

¹⁵ "Reasons why I am a Unitarian, in a Series of Letters to a Friend." By John R. Beard, D.D. Second Edition, revised. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1860.

The leading idea in Mr. Campbell's "New Religious Thoughts"¹⁶ is that all phenomena, as well of the moral and spiritual as of the material world, are evolved from a divine law and order. The book is broken into short chapters or sections, which gives the work some appearance of incoherence. But there is a unity of design whereby at one time the order of the universe is illustrated frequently with great beauty, and at another, the disagreement with it of a preternatural revelation as usually understood, is drawn forth. From time to time, the inconsistency of various parts of the Biblical writings with any elevated conception of the Divine Being and His operations is pointed out, and even the most eminent of the Biblical persons are subjected to a sharp dissection of character. We think that some of these portions of the work may fairly give offence. And the author's tone, we apprehend, would sometimes have been less acrimonious, if he had remembered that upon his own theory, the greatest prophets are themselves, with all their excellences and with all their defects likewise, products of the growth of humanity which has preceded them. Nor could any Messiah or Apostle found a religion to become an historical power, unless the laws of human nature enabled it to exercise such an influence. And if the defects of Paul's character, for instance, are such as could not belong to him, if he were a miraculously commissioned Apostle, which is itself subject to dispute, then he falls into the same category with other men, and is entitled to the same charitable judgment. The same objection may be made to the manner in which the author applies the usual criticism to the moral and other inconsistencies of the Scriptures. In controversy with those who hold a supernatural dictation of all parts of the Bible, they are to be critically pointed out as fatal to that view; but on the reasonable view of the Scriptures as an historical product, these very inequalities are only manifestations of a natural order.

Miss Hennell's¹⁷ last work is entirely free from any confusion of issue, and from any uncharitable judgment on the first preachers of the Gospel. We think, this is, perhaps, the happiest of her works. The problem suggested for solution is definitely stated; the argument is clearly and closely drawn out, and the whole discussion comprehended within a moderate grasp. Whether the words attributed to Jesus by the three first Evangelists were really uttered by him or not, must remain incapable of proof; but it is sufficiently evident that the expectation of an early second coming of Jesus was a fundamental part of the Apostles' preaching. And the sum of the whole inquiry may be given in the words of the authoress:—

"The non-fulfilment of the prophecy which history shows to have formed the basis of the apostolic preaching of Christianity, is a sufficient proof against

¹⁶ "New Religious Thoughts." By Douglas Campbell. London: George Manwaring, 1860.

¹⁷ "The Early Christian Anticipation of an approaching End of the World, and its bearing upon the Character of Christianity as a Divine Revelation. Including an Investigation into the Primitive Meaning of the Anti-Christ and the Man of Sin; and an Examination of the Argument of the Fifteenth Chapter of Gibbon." By Sara S. Hennell. London: Geo. Manwaring, 1860.

the idea of Christianity as a divine revelation in the ordinary sense of the term. But, inasmuch as, firstly, the utterance of the prophecy was the consequence of a fanatical delusion, and not of a wilful imposture; as, secondly, the fanatical delusion was the consequence of a national sentiment, and in that respect was mingled with elements of a noble kind; as, thirdly, the existence of this nobleness entitles us to regard itself as the real cause of the success of Christianity in the highest degree, while the less worthy impulses, although requiring to be recognised as also in action, were only subordinate; and as, fourthly, the course of the history of Christianity has shown us that the noble element has constantly tended to become more and more predominant, while the lower ones have continually subsided: on all these accounts, we are authorized to see in Christianity an eminent instance of a kind of revelation which has lost all the characteristics that marked it with a national peculiarity, and has become adapted to the need of mankind in general."—p. 114.

We mention Dr. Scott's "Sermons"¹⁸ by reason of the author's position as the head of the College which is at present the most distinguished in the University of Oxford. These discourses do not profess to be learned or profound but rather practical. They are thoroughly orthodox.

There is a great deal of good sense in Mr. Alison's "Philosophy of Civilization,"¹⁹ although the book, it must be confessed, reads somewhat incoherently. The author sees plainly, the utter dislocation of all hitherto received systems of "doctrine," and the necessity of a new Reformation of the National Creed, founded upon this test of truth, namely, on the convictions of the intellect as distinguished from the dictates of the feelings.

In the primitive period, it is well known, how the Fathers of the Church were fond of exemplifying the similarity between the teaching of Plato and of Jesus Christ. The Christians of those times were eclectics, and glad to recommend the Gospel by the authority of the greatest of Greek philosophers. It was not till the rise of Augustinianism that the heathen world was included in one general sentence of damnation. Certainly the resemblance between many things in Plato and many in the New Testament is very striking, and it is not always easy to distinguish between that which Western Christianity owes to Heathenism, and that which it owes to Judaism. So that it is only in appearance, that Dr. Ackerman's²⁰ volume lies somewhat outside the boundary of works strictly belonging to the illustration of Christian theology. It is exceedingly instructive, not the less so, because the author does not dilate upon the inferences to be drawn from the occurrence of so many anticipations, to say the least, both of Christian theology and Christian morals in the Attic philosopher. From the

¹⁸ "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford." By Robert Scott, D.D., Master of Balliol College, and Prebendary of Exeter.

¹⁹ "The Philosophy and History of Civilization." By Alexander Alison, Esq. London: Chapman & Hall, 1860.

²⁰ "The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy." Unfolded and set forth by Dr. C. Ackerman, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by Samuel Ralph Asbury, B.A. With an introductory note by William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1861.

point of view which the editor of Messrs. Clark's series consistently takes, it has been fair enough to observe in an introductory note, that there is one important defect in the Platonic theology—it recognises salvation and redemption, but not vicarious satisfaction or atonement. The sense of sin as an offence against the Divine justice requiring compensation by some other than the offender himself was not present to the Greek philosopher. This doctrine is evidently the product of Jewish ideas. Whether the absence of it from Plato be really a defect or not is another question. The treatise altogether is an exceedingly interesting and important one.

We have no time to remark upon the "Life of Auguste Comte,"²¹ which has only just been received.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND TRAVELS.

MR. SCRATCHLEY, who may be looked upon as a standard author on such subjects, has collected into two volumes his various works on the investments of the poorer classes;¹ and, by doing so, has brought together an amount of doctrine and information that can hardly be with safety neglected by the directors or members of these important and beneficial enterprises. A ten years' study of the subject, and an extended correspondence with every country in which these institutions have taken any root, has put him in a position to speak with authority on all points connected with them. His first volume is exclusively devoted to the subject of Savings Banks, and contains a most full review of their history, of the errors which in past times have infected their constitution, of the sad frauds which have so greatly interfered with their popularity and usefulness, as well as a full system of rules by which their recurrence may be avoided. The minute detail into which he pursues his subject leaves little to desire. His rare industry and laborious application alone could have brought together so exhaustive a collection of every fact worthy of being known on these important subjects.

The various projects of government supervision and guarantee which have been suggested to obviate such lamentable frauds as those which gave an evil fame to the Cuffe-street and Rochdale Savings Banks are discussed with great discrimination. In most cases, the expense, on the one hand, and the consequent relaxation of local interest,

²¹ "Notice sur l'Œuvre et sur la Vie d'Auguste Comte," par le Docteur Robinet, son médecin et l'un de ses treize Exécuteurs testamentaires. London : George Manwaring, 1860.

¹ "A Practical Treatise on Savings Banks." By Arthur Scratchley, M.D. London : Longmans & Co. 1860.—"Industrial Investment and Emigration : a Treatise on Benefit Building Societies and Routine." Published at the Friendly Societies' Institute. Third Edition.—"A Treatise on Friendly Societies, with Rules and Tables." London : Shaw and Sons. 1859. Tenth Edition. By the same Author.

on the other, would prove fatal obstacles; the Government have already pledged themselves too deeply in the interest of Savings Banks, and occupy a position of almost necessary loss in respect to them. No interference can compensate for the absence of local interest and superintendence; and every attempt in that direction is said to have the evil effect of weakening one or both. It is remarkable, that in every case of defalcation, a good system of book-keeping and the commonest supervision would have prevented the lamentable result. There is a singular poverty of device in all the frauds on banks, whether it be by some poor Savings Bank official, or by a Pullinger, who appropriates a quarter of a million; in every case, a simple comparison of two books by any one but the man who had falsified one of them, would have at once exploded the system by which they were rendered possible. On this simple remedy Mr. Scratchley very sensibly falls back, and points out to rotating managers that, if they will systematically compare the depositors' book with the ledger, they may make tolerably sure of escaping the only loss to which the depositors are absolutely exposed. It is greatly to be hoped that the reviving confidence of the working classes in these institutions may not again meet with such severe checks. Few things, we are sure, will tend more unequivocally to this result than a general acquaintance with the warning, contained in this valuable treatise.

The same breadth of information and minute acquaintance with the subject characterizes Mr. Scratchley's "Essay on Building Societies," while many of the modes of extending their usefulness which he brings forward strike us as original and worthy of a more extended criticism than we can here give them. The defects and chimerical projects of some of the temporary societies, are very well pointed out; the manner in which the utmost mathematical profit is promised, as though no hindrance were to be expected in carrying out their plans, is well exposed. Many have promised results as rational as the calculations of a physical philosopher, who should leave unnoticed the effect of friction. Most of these objections, however, have no application to those societies which are formed on the permanent system, and which are constantly recruited by new members. Still, however, nothing but the greatest care will ensure the unquestionable advantages which may be derived from these societies. The absolute requisites—an upright lawyer, an intelligent engineer, a capable manager, and intelligent trustees, though forming a constellation fitted for the heavens, are not so inaccessible here below as to operate as an absolute bar to the successful working of a society dependent on their co-existence, however it may call for watchfulness on the part of the investors. These volumes abound in valuable statistical and working tables, which of themselves would entitle them to a place on the committee-table of every Benefit Society and Savings Bank.

Mr. Bigg's edition of the Statutes of the year 1859 is characterized by that laborious industry which has resulted in the very general laudation of his previous volumes.² Into his controversy with the Government

² "The Statute Book for England." Edited by James Bigg. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1859.

on his proposal to edit all the Statutes which have been passed since the Union, expurgating the lapsed and repealed acts, on condition of his Book being made producible as evidence, we do not feel inclined to enter; indeed, we think that the question has been disposed of by Mr. McCulloch, to whom it was referred: nothing can well be added to the following remarks by him,—

“It is the duty of Government to publish complete editions of all the Acts of the Legislature, and to sell them, when published, on the cheapest terms possible; but further than this I do not think that Government is entitled to go, or can go with advantage. It supplies correct and cheap copies of the Statutes to all who require them; but classification, condensation, and abridgment of these Statutes should be left to individuals; and I confess that it appears to me that few things could be more unwise than for Government to give any sort of sanction, direct or indirect, to the accuracy, or utility, or anything else of any compilation whether of one set of acts or another. It is to be borne in mind that were such sanction to be given to one publication it could not, with any show of justice, be denied to others; and, my Lords, were they to authenticate or promote in any way Mr. Bigg’s publication, would very speedily have to do the same thing for other parties. The project is not one in fact with which the Government should in any way mix itself up. If it be deserving of support it will succeed without the help of the Treasury, and if not the sooner it sinks into oblivion the better. If a book be really useful, and be carefully compiled, it will have a good sale, and will indemnify its author: but when Government interferes, as Mr. Bigg proposes, to authenticate books, they, as it were, supersede their authors. They encourage them to be lazy, and condone or rather ratify their errors. If let alone its success will, as it ought, be determined by its merits and by them only.”

These observations are perfectly sound, and few, we think, are better able to rely on the elements of success pointed out in them than Mr. Bigg; that he continues his laborious book is, perhaps, the best proof that his labours are sufficiently appreciated. His undeniable qualifications for the task do not entitle him or any one else possessing them to ask for the monopoly of their exercise.

At his departure from the scene of his great and successful labours, the Dean of Chichester presented fifty pounds to the Leeds Mechanics’ Institute, ten pounds of which were to be devoted as a prize for the best essay on some subject connected with the social advancement of the working classes.³ The successful competitor for this distinction, for reward in his case it can hardly be called, was Mr. Hole, the Honorary Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics’ Institutes.

The subject of his Essay, which he heads with Goethe’s well-worn dying exclamation, is the present condition of the working classes in Leeds, in all that concerns education.

Conclusions on such a subject are worth nothing unless founded on a very close study of the statistics of the subject in all its relations, and even then are apt to be very delusive, when local returns are alone resorted to, unless they are guided by a very competent knowledge of

³ “Light, more Light. On the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds, and how it can best be Improved.” By James Hole, Hon. Sec. of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics’ Institutes. London: Longman and Co. 1860.

the place itself. These considerations, which generally detract so greatly from works of this description, only serve to set in a fuller light the great merit of Mr. Hole's little book. With him it is manifestly a labour of love; the subject is pursued with a full knowledge of the minutest practical detail that gives great value to his Essay. Another good feature, too often absent in works on education, is the complete freedom from sectarian prejudice which shines through every statement. The matter in hand is all that Mr. Hole attends to; he seems to have quite forgotten all controversy about the manner in which his aim is to be reached; passing by all extraneous illustrations, he makes his book more interesting by clear earnestness in the cause than if it were crammed with anecdotes of grotesque ignorance or equally grotesque conflicts with it. With the gradually increasing tendency to democratic institutions which is a constantly pressing sign of the times, Mr. Hole is fully justified in saying that the social problem before us is the alternative between education and anarchy. To such labourers as Mr. Hole the progress of education is greatly indebted, and this his last service in bringing the state of the question into so clear and compendious a form to the door of all who have any desire for investigating it is far from being the least of them. We know of no book on its subject so useful and accessible, or for its size so full of information and so suggestive of the progress still to be made.

There are few things which set in a stronger light the absolute disorganization of public opinion on questions of international right than the extreme variety of judgments pronounced on the China War, and the small legal points on which events of such magnitude are made to turn, points, too, the legality of which appeals alone to Western conceptions, and from the very tribunal to which they appeal appear to betray a consciousness of their inadequacy in the minds of those who bring them forward.

Every justification of our proceedings in China ultimately runs off into a denial of those national rights we ourselves most highly prize whenever they are appealed to by our adversaries. It is quite evident that in politics, the law contended for by Mr. Darwin in the conflicts of less rational creatures than those who pretend to acknowledge any such science, the simple rule ultimately prevails of the weakest going to the wall; and those are not wanting who accept the view, and declare that morality is out of place in international affairs; and it cannot be denied that hitherto it has had little influence on any national difference. Modern wars, in the interest of civilization, promise to be as bloody and exterminating as any ancient ones in the interest of religion, which are now looked back upon by us with such horror, when they were waged by Spaniard or Portuguese. Our faith in our mission to teach the nations how to live, is hardly less fanatical, is quite as earnest, and quite as basely alloyed by collateral considerations of immediate gain as that of any religious enthusiast of the 15th century.

It is dangerous when the weaker nature comes in conflict with a mighty opposite; how can this might, when it is a nation's, be moderated into humanity, when even within its own limits so many unquestion-

able individual rights are made to give way to popular conceptions of what is most desirable by those who have the power to enforce a deference to their own opinions? A philosophical explanation of the attitude in which western civilization now stands face to face with oriental culture may be easily given: it may rationally be contended that, as from the nature of the case, the hostility now showing itself in so many different parts of the East is inevitable—that compromise is no longer practicable, that we can no longer hold our own without trespassing on the rights of others—that we must be predominant or persecuted. In spite, however, of our profound conviction that we are the light of the world, we cannot help shrinking from making it shine before men by the instrumentality of Armstrong guns and Enfield rifles—we hunt frantically about for some rag of moral pretence wherewith to cover ourselves, and make a very strange appearance after all our efforts. Morality consists in the recognition of the rights of others, and even among ourselves somewhat changes its tone and colour, as the case to be decided touches on the claims of our superiors, equals, or inferiors. How, then, can John Chinaman, the lying, pusillanimous Oriental, expect anything but coercion? His weakness makes him a liar, and his falseness makes it impossible to live long with him without exhibiting the rod. Can any one have rights whose vices are so different from our own? This, as might be expected, is the naval officer's view. Hear Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B. :—⁴

"Perhaps it may be said we cordially assent to the desirability of opening up China to western civilization; but we believe the civilian is better adapted to accomplish that end than the sailor or soldier. To this assertion I reply, that experience has shown the fallacy of such a theory, and that the British man-of-war has been the pioneer of progress in China. For two hundred years we traded at Canton, and we knew as much about China in 1830 as we did in 1630; indeed, our merchants were worse treated at the expiration of that time than at the commencement. It was not until England appeared as a belligerent that European civilization progressed in the face of Chinese exclusiveness. It was to the strong arm of the executive that western nations were indebted for their extension of trade to the five ports, and for our increased knowledge of that empire; it was to the strong arm of the executive, not to the diplomatist, and not to the persuasions and enterprise of merchants or missionaries then resident in Canton, that Great Britain is indebted for her present revenue derivable from China."

This is very plain and unequivocal—if the advantages we derive and hope to derive from China are not to be had without repeated thrashings, repeated thrashings must be administered, and we have only to regret that we have to deal with so stubborn and obstinate a subject. How much simpler it would be if we could with effect stigmatize them as unbelieving dogs, instead of the comparatively poor resource of calling them lying hounds! We ought not, however, to leave Captain Osborn without bearing testimony to the excellence of his little book

⁴ "The Past and Future of British Relations in China." By Captain Sherard Osborn, C.B., Royal Navy. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons. 1860.

in a professional point of view : his strategical remarks are very judicious, as many features of this last campaign have shown ; the care with which he has noted everything likely to be of service to those who should follow him in the navigation of the comparatively unknown seas of Northern China, gives a high idea of the efficiency and intelligence of our naval service. The map and charts which accompany the volume are most useful, and give a clearness and fulness to all his references that would be unattainable without them. The overland mail has, we are sure, taken out to his brother officers no more welcome presents than copies of this account of the ground they were passing over.

Very different from this practical and business-like book is the Marquis de Moges⁵ account of Baron Gros's embassy to China and Japan. Without the slightest vestige of special information, the Marquis gives a lively and superficial account of what passed before his eyes as attaché to the embassy. He treats us to all the details of his passage out, and gives a Frenchman's pathetic account of a gale of wind ; days so spent, he says, cannot be said to belong to one's existence ; under such circumstances, a man does not live, he vegetates. Every detail of ambassadorial etiquette receives full justice at his hands, and every case of cordial intercourse between the two embassies is as politely chronicled ; neither he nor the Captain entertain a moment's doubt of the absolute wisdom of the proceedings on the part of their respective nations. The national flag and the point of honour are the ultima Thule of their considerations ; when the point of honour is appealed to by men or nations, it is a pretty sure sign that principle will not support the course about to be adopted : honour may proverbially keep bad company, and the appeal to it is too often identical with that to our lowest passions. It is very questionable whether that increased intercourse which Captain Osborn attributes to the effect of our war-like demonstrations would not of itself have resulted from the natural growth of trade and confidence between the nations without them. It is very certain that there is no country which is so little known and so well misunderstood as China. The Europeans who are most competently acquainted with Chinese language and literature, do not perhaps exceed a score, and the opinions which are entertained by these only adequate judges go for absolutely nothing in the popular estimate of the race and country. Opinions hastily formed by preoccupied and otiose Europeans who care for little else but suddenly acquired wealth, and who have no more adequate basis for a proper judgment than the refuse of nations which swarm round the trading outposts of the country, have been adopted without criticism by the great majority of their fellow-countrymen. The oldest and most elaborate civilization in the world is despised because unknown, the cheap resource of contempt taking the place of laborious inquiry. The very hostility to foreigners which causes so much disgust to Europeans is mainly traceable to their

⁵ "Recollections of Baron Gros's embassy to China and Japan, in 1857-8." By the Marquis de Moges, attaché to the mission. Authorized translation, with coloured illustrations. London and Glasgow : R. Griffin and Co, 1860.

own conduct, and certainly has not decreased as they have made themselves better known and feared; it did not characterize the first intercourse of the Chinese with other nations, and does not do so at present in the interior, where experience has not justified it.

The late and present condition of the Lebanon has induced Mr. Urquhart to publish a diary kept by him during a journey through the country in 1849 and 1850, prefaced by a history of the Lebanon, which he compiled from native authorities on the spot;⁶ thus composed, it was the author's intention to have expanded his sketch by the introduction of critical matter, which would have greatly enhanced its value; but, yielding to the call of "passing circumstances," he has entrusted it to the printer without revision, and, indeed, he says, without previous perusal. As might have been expected, the history suffers greatly from this course; though learned and graphic in a high degree it is too allusional, and pre-supposes too much acquaintance with the subject in the reader to whom it is now addressed; much that no doubt suggested volumes to the author, now produces no effect upon his reader, for want of that development which he had intended to have given it. His curious, original, and very rational speculations on the original inhabitants of Gebel Souria, as he is fond of calling it, are of the highest interest; we cannot within the limits at our disposal offer even the slightest epitome of his views.

The curious arrangement by which the inhabitants of the mountain kept themselves free from religious wars for 800 years, proved for all that time as effectual as strange; they elected a Mussulman chief, and made the government hereditary in his family, but dependant on his remaining of a faith that would make him alike impartial to Druze or Maronite. The intrigues of Mehemet Ali, and the conversion of the reigning chief, Emir Beshir, to Christianity, opened the doors to those religious wars and hates which have resulted in the presence of a French army, soon to be called, like that at Rome, an army of occupation. The recent Ottoman Loan negotiated at Paris, and the kind of security given by the Porte for its repayment, point but too clearly to this result. This event of yesterday should, in some degree, moderate the readiness of his critics to treat Mr. Urquhart as a mad Cassandra; it is true that, like her, he prophesies in season and out of season; but, though Cassandra was an affliction to her friends, a curse to her enemies, and the scorn of both, Troy not the less fell as she predicted. The man of one idea has a penetrating glance for every shape in which it can present itself, and is as formidable an adversary as the man of one book, unless assailed by the unseemly, because inappropriate, weapons of ridicule. If the History loses from being published as it was left by the author in 1850, the Diary gains in freshness and vividness for the same reason. Hardly anywhere can a book be found with such an Eastern physiognomy and expression; oriental manners and ways of life are brought before us with a vividness that nothing

⁶ "The Lebanon (Mount Souria): a History and a Diary." By David Urquhart, Author of "The Spirit of the East," &c. London: T. C. Newby. 1860.

but the author's admiration for the one and love for the other could produce. His verbal pictures are exquisite:

There is one defect of these volumes, or rather an omission that amounts to a defect—they have neither pictures, which are greatly required by the strangeness of the scenery described, nor maps, which are absolutely necessary for a book treating of a district which, though in the heart of the Holy Land, is almost unknown to Europeans. With the strange persistency of all oriental nations, the inhabitants of the Lebanon retain in their daily habits and household routine many peculiarities which may be described in the language of the Hebrew prophets with as much propriety now as when the books were first made use of; an interesting illustration of this continuity of character never escapes Mr. Urquhart.

That in taste, politics, and political economy, the author is far from orthodox, is sufficiently well known, but his heterodoxies are the consistent opinions of a passionate lover of the patriarchal form of society, and it is well that that form should have so able a panegyrist before it passes away to be no more seen. That it must pass away is inevitable, and our author is not to be too severely blamed if he too exclusively deplores the confused noise and garments rolled in blood, without which no state of society ever gives place to that which is to succeed and improve upon it.

A very different book of eastern Israel, is Mr. Walter Thornbury's account of Constantinople,⁷ about one half of which has already appeared in Chambers's *Journal*, and Dickens's *All the Year Round*; Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. have clothed in a handsome binding, and illustrated with some very characteristic cuts from photographs taken in the country, an amount of cockney chatter about the east that will scarcely be anywhere equalled.

The author arrived in Constantinople on the day of the discovery of the late conspiracy against the Sultan, and seems to have come to a very clear idea of the discomfort of dining in a town in which a massacre of all resident Christians may possibly materially interfere with his supper. During his stay the Circassian emigrants were passing through Constantinople on their way to the settlement in Anatolia, offered them by the Sultan. The author makes himself acquainted with the whole subject by a conversation with a fine looking exile, his contribution to which consisted of the comprehensive observations; "Schamyl, good—Russky, bad." From the man's bearing at these cabalistic words, when his first alarm at the Circassian's gesticulations had subsided, he construes a whole picture of the war, out of the depths of his own consciousness, entirely to his own satisfaction, but very little to the edification of any possible reader. His lofty anger at the non-intervention of his country in Circassian affairs, and his profound contempt for her rulers, is very amusing and characteristic. He is far from professing any knowledge of the country he visits, but

⁷ "Turkish Life and Character." By Walter Thornbury, Author of "Life in Spain." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

he does not on that account shrink from the most dogmatic judgments. His business was to write lively articles about everything he could see while in Constantinople, and his notion of liveliness consists in patronisingly patting every Turk upon the back, while he pokes his readers in the ribs to make them see the fun. A full notion of the book may be got by supposing the late Albert Smith's entertainment to be extended into two mortal volumes; the lively flippancy which amused for an hour, when set off by the personal cleverness of the showman, becomes beyond measure tedious, when continued over nearly six-hundred pages without any such relief.

Mr. Thornbury's book is about as amusing as an Egyptian Hall Ascent of Mont Blanc without Albert Smith. The intense self-satisfaction with which he "chaffs" the whole system of Eastern life, and the slang with which he lightens his pages is in the worst possible taste. The whole method of quasi humorous and minute descriptions of the mere external features of life and manners has been utterly used up by its master and inventor. When the humour is not deep and genuine, and the features described not truly characteristic, this mode of treating any subject is more barren of good result than any other that can be adopted. The weary reader longs for some repose, like the unfortunate guests round a table presided over by a professed punster; the most old fashioned and commonplace book of travels is a positive relief after an hour's reading of such modern smartness. A pleasing contrast to this book will be found in a little volume by one who does not find "fairy land in Fleet-street and paradise in Piccadilly," we mean in the Earl of Carnarvon's visit to the Lebanon;⁸ the noble author's notion of a gentleman looks beyond the tailor and recognises in the Druse chieftains those qualities which favourably distinguish all aristocracies. While he makes no pretensions to erudition, he has yet fully studied most of the interesting questions which group themselves round the singular people he was visiting. His book is more accessible, and will probably be more popular than that of Mr. Urquhart who writes almost as a Syrian would do; while Lord Carnarvon never forgets that he is an Englishman and is writing for an English public. This difference is very well shown in the manner in which he notices the many vague accusations of immoral rites connected with the Druse religion which have long been prevalent in Europe, although it is fully evident he thinks them, if not altogether unfounded, at least greatly exaggerated. When Mr. Urquhart, on the other hand, treats of the subject he entirely overlooks such accusations, evidently from scorn of them, and as little thinks of defending the Druses as he would the early Christians from the imputation of eating children at their Sacramental feasts.

The derivation of the Druse religion from the peculiar geographical and political position of the race who adopted it is much more philosophical than the historical method by which Lord Carnarvon traces it up to Hakem Bemrillah and his minister Darzai, from whom he sup-

⁸ "Recollections of the Druses of the Lebanon, and Notes on their Religion." By the Earl of Carnarvon. London: Murray. 1860.

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poses them to have taken their name; in this respect Mr. Urquhart's view, deriving it from the Arabic word *Durs*, instructed, initiated, is probably better founded. Many who would turn from the bulk, or, perhaps, be estranged by the tone of much in Mr. Urquhart's volumes, will find in this record of a winter tour all that it is absolutely requisite to know of the seat of the War in the East, if war it is still to be called, and will at the same time enjoy the society of a cultivated and intelligent man, whose education has lifted him sheer out of the absurdity of finding things unusual necessarily ridiculous, and who has taken the trouble, at least, to acquaint himself with his subject before offering himself to the public in the character of an instructor.

Mr. Gouger's account of his imprisonment in Burmah, is a most genuine and interesting book.⁹ The author was the first Englishman to visit Ava for the purpose of commerce, and was interrupted in his prospect of rapidly amassing a large fortune by the outbreak of the first Burmese war, the immediate effect of which was his arrest as a spy. His acquaintance with the language and country has enabled him to fill up a very complete picture of the manners and customs of his captors. His adventures, which he recounts with a simplicity that makes his story more graphic than the highest art, are as interesting as any novel. His sufferings while in the condemned prison at Amara-poorah were frightful in the extreme; that any one should have survived them, with the additional daily dread of immediate death, is wonderful. Though frequently ordered for execution, he escapes by the strangest accidents, and is ultimately delivered to Sir Alexander Campbell as one of the preliminaries of the peace ultimately signed between this country and Burmah.

The book abounds in amusing anecdotes and carries with it in every line an impress of literal truth, which adds greatly to its attractiveness. In spite of Major Yates' account of the mission of 1857, this book is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of the strange semi-barbarous people it describes, and cannot, we think, fail to meet with a popularity it undoubtedly deserves.

The disturbed condition of the Southern districts of Bengal, caused by the disputes between the indigo planters and ryots, has given occasion to a great deal of heated discussion on a subject which is so mixed up with Indian tenures and local practices, hitherto but little attended to in England, that much confusion of opinion prevails, and is too often purposely encouraged.¹⁰ In the southern provinces, it is the custom for the planters to grant advances to the ryots, taking a pledge from them that they will in return cultivate for them a certain quantity of indigo. This bargain, perhaps, very often partakes of the character which all bargains assume which are entered on by persons in such different positions as those filled by the contracting parties. Cases of high-handed assertion of their right to the fulfilment of these contracts

⁹ "A Personal Narrative of Two Years' Imprisonment in Burmah, 1824—1826." By Henry Gouger. London: J. Murray. 1860.

¹⁰ "Evidence of the Hon. Ashley Eden, taken before the Indigo Commissioners sitting in Calcutta." C. H. Manuel, Calcutta. 1860.

are not wanting, and of late have been diligently looked up, and the whole system of advances has been pronounced against with considerable vehemence. The hardship does not seem to us to reside in the advances, but in other features of the contract. In lower Bengal, the custom is, that when the advances are made and the crop reaped, the produce is sold to the planter at a certain rate per bundle. Constant differences arise, as might be expected, both as to the size and condition of these, and often owing to lowness of contracted price, or badness of season, the whole crop is insufficient to repay the advance which the ryot has received. The balance thus owed by him is used as a fresh advance, and as the ground of a legal claim for an enforced contract to grow again. The natural consequence is, that the ryot has a constant tendency to sink into the condition of a rack-rented cottier. It is, however, evident that it is not the Advance, but the conditions of its liquidation, that contain all the hardships of the case, for by these the ryot takes the risks of the crop, while the planter has relieved himself of that important element in his speculation.

The relations between the ryots and planters in other parts of India, are sufficient to set this in the clearest light. In Tirhoot, now one of the most important indigo districts, the contract between planter and ryot has never borne those fruits of disturbance and commotion. The native cultivator contracts to grow a certain quantity of indigo, at so many rupees per Begah or acre, and if his crop fails totally, from inundation or any other providential cause, he has his full wages, and the loss falls on the planter; if the crop only fails in patches, the patches so failing are declared empty for the purposes of indigo, sufficiently early in the season to allow of the ryots sowing them with grain or Indian corn for his own account, and in this case he is allowed one half of the price for what he engaged to grow the indigo. The planter, too, finds the seed, and cattle and carts to bring the crop home to the factory. It will be at once seen that this system has much in common with the metayer holdings in the South of Europe, and that it presents none of the peculiar and accumulating evils of that adopted in Lower Bengal; although, in common with that system, it reposes on advances; which are made to the ryot as follows:—two rupees per Begah at the time of the contract, one rupee at the time of sowing, and one-half rupee at weeding; the balance at the time of getting in the crop. From this statement it will be at once seen, that on failure of the crop the ryot cannot claim the advance for weeding, but the previous three rupees already received by him, instead of forming an item as an accumulating debt, are accepted as a loss by the planter.

The consequence of this more equitable system is, that no disturbances are known in this district, and we cannot help being surprised to find so general an outcry against one feature of the contracts on which this cultivation is based, and without which it could not be carried on, while so little is comparatively said upon the subsidiary conditions under which the ryot has groaned, until his violent reclamations have resulted in the present inquiry at Calcutta, where the planters, in spite of an investigation carried on in a far from friendly spirit, have

yet been able to parry an attack which has been too eager to seek out the antagonist's weak point.

The "Isle of Saints"¹¹ is the title given to a very clever journal of a tour in Ireland, by Julius Rodenberg, a rising literateur of Berlin. It is not the first tour on British ground which he has made; a previous one through Wales appeared some time since, and was translated by Capt. Lascelles Wrexall, who is about to perform the same good office to the present volumes. The author has great powers of description, and a very ready and flowing style too apt to run into inflated sentimentality, which constantly hovers on the verge of bad taste and pruriency; without, however, absolutely passing it, he carries in his veins that witches' drink which made Faust see Helen's beauty in every face he met. The first pretty Irish girl he encountered would have been fatal to him had she not been so soon succeeded by another. The semi-erotic relations which he immediately endeavours to establish with his female fellow-travellers might easily have led to misconceptions, had it not been for the cheerful *insouciance* of the Irish. It is greatly to be hoped that a certain family party who picked him up during his rambles have at least the protection of a pseudonym, for he certainly gives them no other; he makes at the same time love to the two daughters and a butt of their father, which, if tolerable in itself, is far from being so in a printed account. If there be such a person as Mr. Macrie, he will be very careful how he accepts as a travelling companion any chance tourist he may meet with on the next occasion he makes an antiquarian ramble. Herr Rodenberg has a sharp eye for picturesque legends, and a very pretty talent in recounting them; many contained in these two volumes seem new to us, and reflect much credit on their diligent collector. The translations from Moore are remarkably well done; indeed, we understand that the author has finished, and will shortly publish a translation of the whole of the Irish Melodies. He is about, too, to enter on the enterprise, novel in a German capital, of publishing a periodical after the manner of the *Cornhill Magazine*, and is, we understand, in communication with some of the chief celebrities of modern German literature. It is very questionable whether the small reading public of a town like Berlin can support a light literary periodical; previous efforts in this direction have met with but little encouragement. Even the *Horen*, though upheld by Goethe and Schiller, had but a short and struggling existence; in this case, however, the lofty pedagogism of these poetical giants was a very heavy load for so light a vessel. Herr Rodenberg is not likely to founder from this cause, and we hope, for the sake of his genial goodnature, that he may escape any such result from whatever cause.

A very interesting collection of essays has been published under the title of "Demokratische Studien,"¹² by some of those German liberals who were scattered over Europe by the failure of the Pauls Kirche.

¹¹ "Die Insel der Heiligen," von Julius Rodenberg. Berlin: Otto Janka. 1860.

¹² "Demokratische Studien," herausgegeben von L. Walewode. Hamburg: Otte-
eissner. 1860.

Parliament at Frankfort; the contributors belong to what are called in Germany the Blue Democrats, to distinguish them from the Socialist or Red Party. Many of their names, as L. Bamberger, Carl Vogt, L. Simon of Treves, Moritz Hartmann, Michelet of Berlin, Adolf Stahr, and Karl Grün, are already well known. A very striking paper by F. Lasalle brings forward, and presses on his compatriots rather than criticises, many most penetrating opinions found in the last popular lectures delivered by Fichte, in Berlin, in the spring of 1813, the year before his death. As these lectures exist only in a fragmentary form among his literary remains, they have not met with that attention they deserved; and Herr Lasalle has done good service to his cause by calling public attention to political speculations, which the lapse of time has in so many points justified.

Herr Friedrich Kapp gives an account of the execution of John Brown, at Charlestown, for his attempt at Harper's Ferry, mainly that he may show, in the history of this first capital punishment for a political offence committed in the United States, the inevitable necessity for all absolute power, whether of a single tyrant or of an alarmed mob, to have recourse to terrorism and physical repression.

Some of the anecdotes he gives of the ruthless violence by which the spread of anti-slavery opinions in the South is endeavoured to be repressed, almost exceed belief; violent expulsions from their territories, extreme personal violence where the provocation has been at all open and decided, are features of Southern society to which we have been long accustomed; but one instance given by Herr Kapp exceeds anything we have met with. A gentleman travelling by the North Carolina Railway, was observed to be reading an abolitionist paper; without a word, the train still going at full speed, he was thrown out of window by his fellow-travellers, and his neck broken! The exaggerated alarm caused by Brown's ill-planned attempt, has shown the whole Union that the South must live in a constant state of readiness for war; and that the great question of slavery or freedom must be definitively settled, or Brown's will soon cease to be the first political execution in the United States.

Karl Grün, the historian of the Socialist movement in France, has contributed a very spirited review of recent philosophical speculations; and Adolf Stahr, a somewhat exaggerated protest against Schiller's patent of nobility, denouncing very superfluously the prefix Von, which is scarce ever heard, however it may appear in the title of his works. That either he or Goethe put any value on the distinction it is absurd to suppose; if they may themselves be believed, they did not. It was conferred on them by Karl August, to make them *Hoffähig*, and they wore it as they did their dress-coats and swords, on occasions when it was equally indispensable. The controversy is hardly worth the paper it takes to state the point in dispute.

A paper, evidently by a very well-informed writer, on Electoral Hesse under the father, son, and grandson, is full of information on a subject that may soon occupy more of the public attention; its motto from Luther well describes its contents:—

"I have read," says he, "of a poor widow who stood praying in the most

earnest manner for her tyrant, begging that his life might be long spared him. The tyrant overheard, and wondered, for he well knew that he had done her much evil, and so thought her prayer a very strange one; for the usual prayer for tyrants is of a quite different sort. He asked her, therefore, why she so prayed; she answered, I had ten cows when your grandfather was alive, and he took two away from me; so I prayed that he might die and your father become lord. This came to pass, and your father took three cows; again I prayed that you might become lord, and he died. Now you have taken four cows, therefore now I pray for you, for I am afraid that he that will come after you will take the last cow, as well as everything else that I possess."

It would hardly be thought that a book of so miscellaneous a character as these Essays could become the subject of a violent controversy, it has not however escaped this fate. In the *Stimmen der Zeit*, a monthly paper, devoted to politics, the writers are each and all accused of vanity and venality, and much good personal abuse is devoted to them, especially to such among the party as have succeeded in attaining any fixed position by commerce or trade. The attack, however, of M. Kolatschek is too often, and too manifestly provoked by personal animosities to carry any injurious weight with it.

A little book by Professor Deroyer, of Hasselt, may be strongly recommended as a very clear statement of the general doctrines of political economy;¹³ without assuming to add anything to the science of which he treats, the author, by a very clear and lively style and by a certain neatness of illustration, has produced an interesting and entertaining volume on a subject that is usually considered neither the one nor the other. It is usual to define the conditions of production as labour and the material products of the earth, and very frequently the notion of labour is insufficiently analysed. The following remarks of M. Deroyer appear particularly just:—

"From whatever branch of trade a product may arise, it is obtainable only by three very distinct operations—the labour of the man of science, the application of that science by the manufacturer, and manual labour of the operative.

"The man of science discovers by experiment and analysis the laws which govern the materials and forces concerned in the production. In this sense he who discovered the power of steam, as well as he who discovered those chemical properties of things which fit them to be used as dyes, were men of science.

"The manufacturer, appropriating the ideas of the man of science, makes such use of them that they shall tend to supply some moral or physical want. This, for example, is what was done by those who applied the power of steam to cotton-spinning, to grinding corn, or to locomotion.

"The operative is he who carries out the applications of science projected by the manufacturer. It is by no means necessary that these three operations should fall into the hands of three different persons. It may even occur that the same individual is at once man of science, manufacturer, and operative."

It is not that the intellectual element in production is usually ignored, but it acquires a juster force by inclusion in the terms of its

¹³ "Economie à l'Usage de tout le Monde." Par. F. J. Deroyer, Professeur à l'Athénée Royale de Hasselt. Brussels: Van Meenen and Co. 1860.

definition. This little volume is excellently adapted to the end it aims at, viz., that of popularizing the results of economical science. We cannot readily call to mind an equally excellent English compendium, and cannot but think that it would meet with a deserved success in this country, if well and carefully translated.

There are too certain minute differences in the way of conceiving and stating economic problems that often cause a foreign book to give unexpected facilities in seizing their cardinal points which the well-known home terms sometimes fail to do from their very familiarity.

SCIENCE.

EVERY one who is interested (and who should not be?) in the question of the nature of the Sun's physical constitution,¹ the sources of its perennial liberation of light and heat, the meaning of the appearances presented during eclipses, and of the spots ordinarily to be seen upon its surface, the cyclical increase and decrease of these, the ordinary influence exerted by the sun upon the earth's magnetism, and the particular variations in this which seem connected with the disturbances indicated by the spots in the solar photosphere, will find an excellent and reliable summary of the facts that are known upon these subjects, with the principal hypotheses that have been proposed to account for them, in the lecture delivered by Mr. Walker, at the late meeting of the British Association at Oxford, which has been since published with the addition of fresh information obtained on occasion of the recent eclipse.

Mr. Gill's "Essay on the Thermo-Dynamics of Elastic Fluids,"² is obviously the production of a thoughtful mind familiar with the practical relations of heat and motor power, and seeking to bring these to a more perfect realization of the equivalent values furnished by scientific investigation. He suggests *moist air* as likely to afford a more advantageous medium for the conversion of heat into motor power, than either steam on the one hand or dry air on the other.

A new edition has recently appeared of the late Dr. Golding Bird's admirable manual of "Natural Philosophy,"³ the large sale of which attests the general acceptance with which it has met. Its preparation has been undertaken by Mr. C. Brooke, than whom no more competent or more judicious editor could have been selected; and we need say nothing further than that the work has been thoroughly brought

¹ "The Physical Constitution of the Sun. A Discourse delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, before the British Association, June 29th, 1860. With an Appendix on the Phenomena observed in Spain during the Eclipse of July 18th." By Rev. Robert Walker, M.A. F.R.S., Reader in Experimental Philosophy. 8vo. London, 1860.

² "An Essay on the Thermo-Dynamics of Elastic Fluids." By Joseph Gill. 8vo. London, 1860.

³ "The Elements of Natural Philosophy; or an Introduction to the Study of the Physical Sciences." By Golding Bird, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., and Charles Brooke, M.A., M.B., F.R.S. Fifth Edition, revised and enlarged, with 607 wood engravings. Fcap. 8vo. London, 1860.

up to the advanced position now held by the sciences of which it treats.

From a retired Indian medical officer we have a very interesting treatise⁴ on a curious set of phenomena, the study of which is obviously calculated to throw great light upon some of the most important questions of meteorology. Columns of dust, a few feet in diameter, rising cylindrically until their summits are lost in the distance, are often seen travelling over the plains; and observation seems to show that their component particles ascend, not in a single spiral (such as is to be noticed in our common dust-eddies), but in a double spiral, one surrounding the other. Moreover, the column is surrounded by currents of air, the direction of which is tangential to it. Mr. Baddeley has obtained indications (though not very distinct ones) of electrical disturbance in the interior of these columns; and thinks it probable that they originate in streams of electric force descending from the higher regions of the atmosphere, and that the disturbance in the surrounding air is not their cause but their effect. Manifestations of electric disturbance are much more distinct in the dust-storms which occasionally sweep over areas of considerable breadth; for Leyden-jars have been charged, magnets made, and chemical decompositions effected by their passage. These storms Mr. Baddeley supposes to be the result of the aggregation of a number of the small whirlwinds. Whatever may be thought of his hypothesis, his facts are well worthy of study, as having been observed with care and intelligence, and as furnishing a valuable series of independent data to be taken into account in framing any general "Law of Storms." Of his useful hints in regard to the sanitary care of our European army in India we have elsewhere spoken. (p. 54.)

"The Physical Geography of the Sea"⁵ is a department of science which has advanced with almost unprecedented rapidity, from a condition of prolonged and almost unprogressive childhood to one of vigorous and fast-growing youth. And this advance is mainly owing to the activity and intelligence of a single individual, who first conceived the idea of collecting into one focus the vast aggregate of information dispersed through the records of the voyages that are made over every navigable portion of the globe by the ships of the several maritime nations; and who so far realized that idea by his unaided exertions, as to evolve results which at once demonstrated its importance and laid the foundation for more extended and systematic operations in the same direction. The primary object of Captain Maury's labours was to embody, in "Wind and Current Charts," the collective experience

⁴ "Whirlwinds and Dust-Storms of India. An Investigation into the Law of Wind and Revolving Storms at Sea. With an Addendum, containing Practical Hints on Sanitary Measures required for the European Soldier in India. Illustrated by numerous Diagrams and Sketches from Nature, and a Wind Card for the Use of Sailors." By P. F. F. Baddeley, Surgeon, Bengal Army (retired list). 8vo. With an Atlas of Plates. London and Cologne, 1860.

⁵ "The Physical Geography of the Sea, and its Meteorology. Being a Reconstruction and Enlargement of the Eighth Edition of 'The Physical Geography of the Sea.'" By M. F. Maury, LL.D., U.S.N., Superintendent to the National Observatory, Washington. Illustrated with numerous Charts and Diagrams. London, 1860. 8vo, pp. 485.

of navigators as to the winds and currents met with along the principal ocean-tracks at different times and during all seasons; so methodized that an inexperienced mariner setting out on his first voyage to a given port should be able to feel as much confidence in his knowledge as to the winds and currents he might expect to encounter, as though he himself had already been that way a thousand times before. Such charts could not fail to commend themselves to intelligent shipmasters; they took them to sea, and found that the promised advantages were so fully realized, as to bring the remote corners of the earth practically nearer to one another by several weeks' sail. Thus the *average* passage from New York to California has been reduced from 183 days to 135 days, a saving of 48 days; and that between England and Australia has been reduced from 124 days to 97 days, the homeward passage having been made in 63 days under canvas alone. Results like these having been brought before the public, naturally attracted great attention on the part of the quick, practical minds of enterprising shipmasters; and they have readily lent their co-operation towards extending and perfectionizing the course of inquiry thus auspiciously commenced. Their attention was called to the blank spaces in the chart, and to the importance of more and better observations than were generally contained in the old sea-logs; and they were told that if each one would agree to co-operate in a general plan of observations at sea, and would send regularly, at the end of every cruise, an abstract log of his voyage to the National Observatory at Washington, he should for so doing be furnished, free of cost, with a copy of the charts and sailing directions that might be founded on these observations.

In a little time there were more than a thousand observers thus engaged, by day and by night, and over all parts of the ocean, in making and recording observations according to a uniform plan; and the scientific value as well as the practical importance of this systematization became sufficiently apparent, to induce the Government of the United States to bring the subject under the attention of all the maritime States of Christendom. A conference, consisting of representatives from all the most important of these was held at Brussels, in August, 1853; and a plan of observations was agreed upon, which should be followed by the vessels of all friendly nations, alike in peace and in war, the record of them being to be held sacred even in the event of the capture of any of the vessels on board which they may be conducted. The instruments required for these observations are no others than are already in use on board every well-conditioned ship; and provision has been made for the supply to all shipmasters who may co-operate in the plan, of instruments which have been adequately tested by comparison with standards that are common to all. Thus, as Captain Maury well remarks, "the sea has been brought regularly within the domains of philosophical research, and crowded with observers. Every ship which navigates the high seas with these charts and blank abstract logs on board may henceforth be regarded as a floating observatory, a temple of science." The moral benefit of this co-operation is scarcely, perhaps not at all, inferior to its direct mate-

rial advantage. For everything which unites nations together in common bonds for mutual benefit tends to soften national antipathies and to promote peace and goodwill; and a stimulus is being given to the mental elevation of our seamen, which, in the opinion of many competent judges, will ultimately do more for the improvement of commerce and navigation than the increased knowledge of winds and currents has already effected.

Besides those classes of observations, however, which can be made in the ordinary course of commercial navigation, there is another which is attended with peculiar difficulties that can only be overcome by arrangements devised for the express purpose, but of which the importance, alike in a scientific and a practical point of view, is every year becoming more apparent. We refer to those *deep-sea soundings*, by which alone an acquaintance can be gained with the character of the bed of the ocean—its mountains and valleys, its plains and table-lands, its ravines and precipices—as well as with the nature of the deposits which are being continually spread over it, either by the wearing away of the land, or by the successional development and death of those marine plants and animals which have the power of solidifying in their casings the lime or the siliceous diffused through the water they inhabit. Such knowledge is essential to every extension of submarine telegraphy; it is no less essential to that scientific interpretation of the phenomena presented by ocean-currents, of which, without it, only an empirical summary can be presented. The British Government has not been slow to take up this subject; and many most valuable series of deep-sea soundings have already been made by expeditions sent out for the purpose, the most recent of which is that just made by Captain M'Clintock, in H.M.S. *Bulldog*, and by Captain A. Young, in the *Fox*, with a view to the laying down a new line of telegraph to North America by way of Greenland. One of the most curious of the results obtained in this expedition, was the bringing up a living star-fish from a depth of 1260 fathoms, or more than a mile and a half; a depth at which it has been generally believed that no organized being could maintain life.

The scientific co-ordination of all the knowledge acquired by these various means of research, has occupied Capt. Maury no less than the development of the practical applications of that knowledge; and we have the most recent results of his labours in the treatise before us, of which the first edition appeared only six years ago, and which, as he informs us, has been subsequently almost entirely rewritten three times, in order that it may be kept *au courant* with the growth of the science it is intended to embody. The present edition is not only considerably enlarged, but is also greatly improved in regard alike to the variety, the extent, and the value of the information it contains, so that it may be almost considered as a new work; its scope, also, having been widened, so as to render it as complete a treatise as possible, not only on the Physical Geography, but also on the Meteorology of the Sea. Like every real philosopher, Capt. Maury looks only to truth as his object; and cares not whether the new information continually flowing-in confirms or invalidates his previous opinions; provided that

it helps him to make his structure more firm and complete. "As long, he says, "as we are making progress in any field of physical research, so long must the results continue to increase in value; and just so long must what at first was conjecture grow and gain as truth, or fade and fall as error." Our readers will be able to form a truer estimate of the value of this treatise from what we have told them of the history and scope of the inquiries on which it is based, than they could do from a more formal account of its contents. Of the vast amount of labour that has been bestowed upon its preparation, they may form some idea from the fact stated by Capt. Maury that in his first plate alone are embodied the results of 1,159,353 separate observations on the force and direction of the wind, and upwards of 100,000 observations on the height of the barometer at sea, a large proportion of the latter being not single observations but the mean of several. Had these data been collected by a force specially employed for the purpose, the collection would have demanded constant occupation from a fleet of ten sail for more than one hundred years. As it is, the co-ordination of them has been a work of immense labour, requiring the undivided attention of numerous able workers in the Observatory at Washington for several years. The Government of the United States deserves the cordial thanks of every maritime nation for the noble work it has undertaken and so far accomplished; and Captain Maury, with whom the idea originated, and under whose guidance it has been carried out, may congratulate himself upon the title he has gained to be accounted one of the world's greatest benefactors.

After a long delay, chiefly occasioned by the illness of Mr. Ralfs, we have at last before us the much-desired reproduction of Mr. A. Pritchard's "*History of Infusoria*,"⁶ in a form so greatly improved that few or no traces remain of the very imperfect original. The appearance of the first edition of this work preceded that of the "*Infusionsthierehen*" of Ehrenberg; but the second and third were avowedly remodelled upon the basis which it afforded, and the greater number of their illustrations were simply reduced copies of his plates. The advance which has been made, during the last ten or twelve years, in the knowledge of all the forms of minute life, both animal and vegetable, has necessitated a fresh recasting of the materials of the work; and it now comes before us with such an air of freshness and novelty, that, if it were not for the well-remembered aspect of a portion of the plates, we might have taken it for an entirely new book. We could wish, indeed, that Mr. Pritchard had emancipated himself more thoroughly from the trammels imposed by his former title, and given to his present work a designation more in harmony with its contents. For to include Desmids and Diatoms, with other undoubtedly vegetable forms, and the Rhizopods and Rotifers of the animal kingdom, under the term

⁶ "A History of Infusoria, including the Desmidiaceæ and Diatomaceæ, British and Foreign." By Andrew Pritchard, M.R.I. Author of the "*Microscopic Cabinet*," &c. Fourth Edition. Enlarged and revised by J. T. Arlidge, M.B., B.A., London; W. Archer; J. Ralfs, M.R.C.S.L.; W. C. Williamson, F.R.S. and the Author. Illustrated by Forty Plates. 8vo. London, 1861.

Infusoria, which is now limited by common consent to a group of Animalcules having tolerably definite boundaries, cannot but tend to perpetuate that chaotic confusion which has been gradually giving place to order and system. Moreover, if it be intended that the work should embrace a general survey of microscopic life, on what principle are the Polycystina of Ehrenberg, and the Acanthometræ of Müller, both of which are at least as closely allied to the Rhizopods as are the Gregarinida and Psorospermia, altogether omitted?—When we pass, however, from the title-page and table of contents to the body of the work, we find everything to commend in the mode in which each division of the subject has been separately worked out by the contributor who has specially charged himself with it. Nearly half the volume is occupied with the general history of the several groups, viz. : *Desmidiæ*, *Diatomaceæ*, *Phytozoa*, *Protozoa*, (including *Rhizopoda* and *Ciliata*), *Rotatoria*, and *Tardigrada*; this, which is the work of Mr. Arlidge, is a very able summary of the important contributions recently made by numerous British and Continental observers to our knowledge of their life-history, which will be of the highest value to that large proportion of microscopists who have not time and opportunity to consult the original records of their labours. The second and larger half of the volume is occupied with the systematic arrangement of the several groups just enumerated. That of the *Diatomaceæ*, the group which has been more studied in this country of late years than any other, is the work of Mr. Ralfs, than whom no one could be more competent, from his intimate knowledge of it and his thoroughness in the execution of everything he undertakes. The revision of the *Desmidiæ* has been carried out by Mr. William Archer, chiefly on the basis of Mr. Ralfs' classification, with the introduction of original views of his own, and of descriptions of newly discovered foreign species furnished by M. de Brebisson. For the systematic arrangement of the *Phytozoa*, *Protozoa*, and *Rotifera*, the systematic arrangement of Ehrenberg has been retained, the genera and species of other naturalists being collated and engrafted upon it; and in the present transitional state of our knowledge of these groups and of the real relations of their principal sub-divisions, this is probably the best plan that could have been followed. The greater part of this portion of the work seems to have been accomplished by Mr. Pritchard; but Prof. W. C. Williamson has revised the descriptions of the *Rotatoria*. Of the total number of forty plates, twenty-one are entirely new, six of these having been drawn and engraved by Mr. Tuffen West, whose delineations of Diatoms are unrivalled for their beauty and fidelity. The work as it now stands is one which does the highest credit to all who have been concerned in its production; and we heartily congratulate Mr. Pritchard upon the successful completion of the task with which he has been so long occupied. The volume is one which no votary of the microscope can afford to be without.

Although many of Dr. Bennett's "Gatherings" have already been presented to the public through various channels, yet we heartily welcome their appearance in a collective form, with the additional materials which he has now for the first time brought forth from his budget of

"Australasian Zoology and Botany,"⁷ altogether constituting a handsome and beautifully illustrated volume. To Dr. Bennett we are indebted for our first knowledge of the animal of the Pearly Nautilus, the type of those chambered Cephalopods that have ranged through nearly the whole series of geological periods; and it is somewhat aggravating now to learn that living Nautili are so plentiful at the Fidji Islands, that they are caught for food in wicker traps baited like lobster-pots, and are eaten *curried* by the natives. Dr. Bennett was also the discoverer of the new and remarkable species of Cassowary found only in New Britain, and known by its native name of Mooruk; and to him also we are indebted for most of our knowledge of the physiology and habits of the anomalous Ornithorhynchus, as of its congener the Echidna, and also of the remarkable Jabiru or Gigantic Crane. Our Zoological Gardens have largely profited by the zeal with which he has purveyed for them among the curiosities supplied by his adopted country; and he has also done much to direct attention to the practical value of many forms of its vegetation, which might otherwise have been disregarded. We trust that on his return thither he will long continue to render those valuable services to science, for which his antipodean residence has afforded the opportunity, but which have mainly sprung from an earnestness which would make an opportunity for itself in any locality however familiar.

It was scarcely to be expected that the author of the "Vestiges"⁸ should keep quiet, now that public attention has been again turned by the speculations of Mr. Darwin to the inquiry into the origin and succession of organic life upon the globe. He has limited himself, however, to a reissue of his last or illustrated edition in a more compendious form, with a note referring to Mr. Darwin's views. The continued sale of this work shows that, with all its faults, it has taken a strong hold of the public mind; and we believe that it has done good service in loosening the hold which antiquated prejudices have so long maintained over the freedom of thought, and in preparing for a more candid discussion of the problems which are now before the attention of the scientific world.

Having heard it rumoured that a reply to Mr. Darwin was forthcoming from no less able a pen than that of Professor Phillips, we awaited its appearance with much interest; but we find nothing more in the little work before us⁹ than an expression of its author's conviction, that the knowledge of the succession of life on the earth which geological research has yielded to us, up to the present time, is

⁷ "Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australasia; being Observations principally on the Animal and Vegetable Productions of New South Wales, New Zealand, and some of the Austral Islands." By George Bennett, M.D., F.L.S., F.R.S. With 8 coloured lithographs, and 26 wood engravings. 8vo. London: 1860.

⁸ "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." Post 8vo. Eleventh edition. Illustrated by numerous wood engravings. London: 1860.

⁹ "Life on the Earth; its Origin and Succession." By John Phillips, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., late President of the Geological Society of London, Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford. Fcap 8vo. London: 1860.

so far to be accepted as final, that no very important modification of it is to be looked for from further inquiry. We must confess our surprise that a man so highly informed not only as to the existing state, but also as to the history, of Geology, should speak with so much confidence of the ratio between what we *do know* and what we *do not know* of the past life upon our earth; and we cannot but suspect that the murky atmosphere of Oxford has somewhat obscured the ordinary clearness of Professor Phillips's scientific vision. Even whilst he was preparing his Rede lecture, there came to us from America the remarkable intelligence that in a single fossil stump of a tree in the celebrated section of carboniferous strata at "the Joggins" in Nova Scotia, there had been found by Dr. Dawson the remains of five reptiles, three of them being new species, together with a millipede and land-anail. Yet it is not long since it was the received doctrine that reptiles had no existence on this earth before the commencement of the secondary period. Moreover, Professor Phillips himself allows that the recently acquired evidence on the antiquity of man is sufficient to justify the notion that he may have been contemporaneous with the extinct Hippopotamus,—a notion which a few years ago would have been scouted as one not to be entertained for a moment. Taken for what it is worth, as a summary of our present knowledge, the Rede lecture of Professor Phillips is an admirable digest, which may be read with profit alike by the tyro and by the advanced student of geology.

Mr. Marshall having been commissioned by the Science and Art Department at Kensington to prepare a set of large diagrams for the purpose of popular instruction in physiology,—a task which he executed with great success,—further, undertook to furnish a descriptive account of the objects represented; and this description, forming a quarto volume of 260 closely printed pages, with an atlas of plates consisting of reduced copies of the larger diagrams, now lies before us.¹⁰ Notwithstanding the great care which has obviously been bestowed upon this performance, we cannot but regard the result as unsatisfactory. For the book is much too full of elaborate detail for the wants of the school teacher; whilst, on the other hand, the purpose for which it was to be adapted forbade the introduction of many topics that were essential to its scientific completeness. A concise treatise on physiology, conveying as much as every one ought to know of the structure and actions of his body, and of the means of keeping it in health, in simple and perspicuous language, and attractive in its style, has yet to be written. For such a treatise Mr. Marshall's admirable series of diagrams would furnish a suitable basis; and we hope that the want may not remain long unsupplied.

Professor Day, who has before laboured usefully as the translator of

¹⁰ "The Human Body; its Structure and Functions." Illustrated by 9 physiological diagrams, containing 193 coloured figures; designed for the use of teachers in schools, and young men destined for the medical profession, and for popular instruction generally. By John Marshall, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., Surgeon to University College Hospital, London, and Lecturer on Anatomy in the Science and Art Department, Kensington. 4to. With an atlas of plates. London: 1860.

Simon's and of Lehmann's larger works on physiological chemistry,¹¹ has now produced a compendious treatise of his own on the same subject, which will prove extremely useful alike to the scientific physiologist and to the medical practitioner. Whilst basing it chiefly on the smaller "Handbuch" of Lehmann, Dr. Day has brought together a large amount of additional matter from various recent sources; and has aimed to present to those who have not time for more extended research a *résumé* of the most trustworthy information on the chemistry of the animal body in health and disease. The general plan of the treatise is excellent, and its execution is for the most part equally good. What we chiefly miss, is the guidance to be afforded by a sound practical chemist as to the relative values of statements which are discrepant or even contradictory.

The cellular pathology of Professor Virchow,¹² which may be described as a return to the system of *solidism*, based on the recent development of histological science, in antagonism to the modified *humouralism* which has of late become fashionable, has excited great attention and not a little controversy in the land of its birth; and whatever may be the ultimate judgment of those most competent to decide upon its merits as a system, there cannot be a doubt of the value of the results of those profound investigations into the structure and development of healthy and morbid tissues on which it is based. We are glad, therefore, that his treatise has been placed before the English reader, in a form which will bring it much more readily within his grasp, than it was whilst it remained in its original language. The translation is so well executed, that although there is plenty of Germanism in the ideas, we seldom trace it in the language; and it has had the advantage of Professor Virchow's latest emendations. The work is one with which every student of physiology, as well as of pathology, ought to make himself acquainted.

Mr. Forster is quite justified in saying that a treatise on those special diseases of children which require surgical interference, is a desideratum in our literature;¹³ and having enjoyed extensive opportunities of treating these both at Guy's Hospital, and at the Royal Infirmary for Children, he has done an acceptable service by making known the results of his experience. His work is purely professional in its character, being obviously *not* written, as too many such special treatises

¹¹ "Chemistry in its Relations to Physiology and Medicine." By George E. Day, M.A., Cant., M.D., F.R.S. Professor of Medicine in the University of St. Andrews. 8vo. With 5 Plates, containing numerous illustrations. London: 1860.

¹² "Cellular Pathology, as based upon Physiological and Pathological Histology. Twenty Lectures delivered in the Pathological Institute of Berlin." By Rudolf Virchow, Professor of Pathological Anatomy, General Pathology, and Therapeutics in the University of Berlin. Translated from the second edition of the original, by Frank Chance, B.A., M.B., Cantab. With notes and numerous emendations, principally from MS. notes of the Author. 8vo. Illustrated by 144 wood engravings. London: 1860.

¹³ "The Surgical Diseases of Children." By J. Cooper Forster, M.B., F.R.C.S., Assistant Surgeon to Guy's Hospital, Surgeon to the Royal Infirmary for Children. 8vo. With coloured lithographs and wood engravings. London: 1860.

are, with a direct view to attract patients from the general public; and we have pleasure in recommending it as one in which the surgical practitioner will find valuable aid and guidance.

No feature in our former Indian Administration has been more thoroughly disgraceful to the Government which permitted it, than the state of the jails, in which are confined on the average, no fewer than *forty thousand* prisoners, chiefly natives. The rate of mortality in these has been so fearful, that if it were charged against the Government that it *wished* to get rid of the *mauvais sujets* of the country, by making use of fatal disease in place of the gibbet or the axe, it might be somewhat difficult to repel the accusation. For the rulers of India cannot be said to have sinned in ignorance; over and over again have the medical officers attached to these pesthouses lifted up their voices to proclaim the fearful truths of which the cognizance was forced upon them; but their remonstrances have produced little or no effect, except to cause a mark to be placed upon themselves as troublesome agitators whose promotion should be retarded. As long ago as 1835, Dr. James Hutchinson published a work on Indian jails, in which he drew attention to the enormous amount of disease and mortality generally prevalent among them; and pointed to over-crowding as the cause from which this fatality seemed in great part to originate. In a second edition of his work, published ten years later, he confirmed his previous statements by the results of further investigations. We have before us a pamphlet published by Dr. Mackinnon, surgeon and medical storekeeper at Cawnpore in 1848, in which it is stated that the average of deaths in all the jails of the upper provinces for 1845, was very nearly 100 in every thousand; whilst at Delhi, the mortality reached the frightful proportion of 261 in the thousand—*more than one fourth* of the whole number of prisoners perishing within the year. Dr. Mackinnon not only drew attention to the fact, but also pointed out what was obviously one principal cause of it, viz., the extremely limited air-space afforded to the prisoners, not above 300 cubic feet being provided for each individual *in any jail* (800 cubic feet being the *minimum* in this country, and 1000 cubic feet being frequently provided), and 70 cubic feet being in some instances the miserable average. He also showed that the dietary was generally insufficient, and that the arrangements for cleanliness were so defective that the air must be constantly contaminated by the accumulation of *excreta*. Yet so little has been done from that time to this, that the fuller exposition of the present state of the jails in India, lately published by Dr. Ewart¹⁴ shows that the evils so explicitly pointed out by Drs. Hutchinson and Mackinnon have been hitherto but little, if at all, ameliorated.

From the table given by Dr. Ewart, it is obvious that there is no necessity for the prevalence of a higher rate of mortality among prisoners confined in the India jails, than exists among the corresponding class of the native population; for the general averages of 72·5 per 1000 in Bengal, 61·5 in Bombay, and 61·3 in Madras, are made

¹⁴ "The Sanitary Condition and Discipline of Indian Jails." By Joseph Ewart, M.D., Bengal Medical Service. 8vo. London: 1860.

up of extremely diverse quantities, an annual rate as low as *ten deaths* per 1000 being exhibited in some instances, whilst in others it mounts up to a proportion of *two, three, or four hundred*, and in one case (that of the jail at Akyab in 1858), of *seven hundred and eighty-four* deaths out of 1000. The mortality among prisoners in this country for the year 1850 was under 12 per thousand; being absolutely less than that of the general male population of ages corresponding to those of prisoners, which is about 16 per 1000. No absolutely reliable data have yet been obtained (owing to the want of any system of registration of births and deaths) as to the ordinary rate of mortality among the native population of India; but there is no reason to suppose it to be much, if at all, higher than that of the population of England; and as experience has shown that there is nothing in confinement *per se* to increase the rate (the regularity and discipline, the good food, good air, and good sewerage, of our best class of prisons being decidedly more favourable to health, than the conditions to which their inmates would be subjected if at large), we must look for the explanation of the fearful mortality of certain Indian jails in the faults of their construction, or of their administration.

There is no difficulty in determining what these faults are; the most pernicious is unquestionably *overcrowding*: instead of 800 cubic feet of air-space, which is considered by the best Indian medical authorities to be the minimum that should be allowed for each individual, we find that the jails in the Madras Presidency, with one exception, provide only from 164 to 669; while Dr. Mouat, Inspector of Prisons for Lower Bengal, emphatically says that additional accommodation is needed in Lower Bengal for at least 5000 criminals; and that "until the present pressure is relieved, all other hygienic measures will be inoperative in effecting any great diminution of the sickness and mortality."—But that overcrowding is not the sole cause, appears from another set of facts, which show most conclusively that an *insufficient dietary* has in several instances been the occasion of a large increase in the ratio of sickness and death. Thus at the House of Correction in the island of Bombay, the constructive arrangements of which had been found unexceptionable by a committee of medical officers appointed to inspect it, an average mortality of $64\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000 had prevailed for nine years; but the diet scale having been improved at their recommendation, the amount of sickness was diminished *one half*, whilst the mortality was reduced to a little above 11 per 1000, or scarcely more than *one sixth* of the previous rate. On the other hand, in the jail at Alipore, a reduction in the diet scale was followed by an increase in the average death rate from 42 per 1000 to $117\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000. Dr. Ewart shows that, notwithstanding the experience afforded by these and similar facts, the diet scales of the Indian jails are still by no means what they should be, regard being had to the necessity for a due proportion of nitrogenous constituents, and to the principle (now founded on a wide basis of experience) that a better diet is needed to preserve the health of prisoners under confinement than that which suffices for the labourer when at liberty, and that the dietary must improve with the length of imprisonment.

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We shall not follow Dr. Ewart through the remainder of his treatise, which is devoted to the subjects of water-supply, arrangements for purification, labour, the abolition of the use of tobacco and opium, clothing, and discipline; but we commend it to the attention of all who are interested either in sanitary reform or in prison discipline, as containing a large amount of valuable information drawn from a new field of inquiry, and a scheme of discipline "based upon a combination of humane, natural, and philosophical principles." In his urgent recommendation that the sanitary powers of the medical officers in charge of every jail ought to be augmented "in such a manner as to make him as supreme in all matters connected with *preventive* as he now is with respect to *curative* medicine," we most heartily concur. The evil of the present system, which confers only a recommendatory power upon the medical officer, but vests the real executive or directorial action in the civil superintendent, has now become so glaring that some change seems imperatively called for. We believe that the medical service would cheerfully undertake the responsibility of keeping down the ratio of sickness and death to the fair moderate average afforded by the better class of jails, if only it had the power of carrying its preventive system into action. Hitherto red-tapeism has been in the ascendant; and the result has been a sacrifice of human life which is too shocking to think of.

[We hoped to direct our readers' attention to several other scientific works which have recently appeared, but want of space compels us to reserve the notices of them, already prepared, until the publication of our next number.]

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

AN intelligible English translation of the uncouth Latin and Anglo-Norman original of the "*Liber Albus*," published early in 1859, is now presented to the world by the previous editor, Mr. H. T. Riley, who appears to have brought to the execution of his task, knowledge, industry, and judgment. The "*Liber Albus*"¹ is one of a series of works whose publication, authorized by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, is directed by the Master of the Rolls, to whose opportune suggestion we owe the exhumation of much valuable historical material. "*The White Book*," to give it its English name, derives its title from the fair parchment that once formed its striking visual distinction. Assiduously consulted by the civic authorities, its brilliant illuminations became tarnished, and its achromatic characteristic disappeared. Accordingly, a writer, probably of the sixteenth century, adapting a well known verse in Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*" wrote:—

¹ "*Liber Albus: The White Book of the City of London*, compiled A.D. 1419. By John Carpenter, Common Clerk; Richard Whittington, Mayor." Translated from the original Latin and Anglo-Norman. By Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., &c., Barrister-at-Law. London: Richard Griffin and Co. 1860.

"Qui 'Liber Albus' erat, nunc est contrarius albo.
Factus et est unctis pollicibusque niger," &c.

very wisely recommending, in the sequel, that a transcript should be made of the book that "had become the converse of white." Accordingly a duplicate copy of the work was made under the supervision of Robert Smith, Comptroller of the Chamber, A.D. 1582. To this transcript the name of "Liber Albus," or White Book, was transferred from the old volume; and to this day, adds the translator in his introduction, the "Liber Albus" of John Carpenter is distinguished by the officials at Guildhall, from its more modern and less sullied antitype, as the "Liber Niger," or Black Book.

John Carpenter, Town Clerk of the City of London, under whose auspices the "Liber Albus" was compiled, is supposed to have been born about the close of the reign of Edward III. His integrity and ability were so conspicuous and so highly appreciated, that he was nominated "one of the four executors of the will of Richard Whittington, the well-known hero of popular but fabulous narrative."

In 1436, Carpenter was elected one of the representatives of the City of London in Parliament. In 1441 he directed by his testament that his body should be buried in the church of St. Peter, Cornhill; and on the basis of a devise which he made in his will, "at the distance of nearly four centuries from his death was founded that now flourishing and meritorious institution, the City of London School."

The "Liber Albus," compiled by this worthy, was found in a collection of archives preserved in the Record Room at Guildhall, where, says Mr. Riley, "for nearly six centuries, in the sequence of letter-books, journals, and repertories, its officials have kept an unbroken record of all transactions and events, social, political, ecclesiastical, legal, military, naval, local and municipal, in which, closely or remotely, the city in its corporate character has been interested." From these archives, as they existed A.D. 1419, combined perhaps with other sources of information now lost or unknown, the "Liber Albus" was compiled, by John Carpenter, Common Clerk, in the last Mayoralty of Richard Whittington, for the instruction of those who under critical circumstances might be prematurely intrusted with the management of its affairs and interests.

From this valuable record much may be learned of the social condition, usages, and manners of the people of England during the troubled times of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. A picture of London may be composed with tolerable completeness, we should surmise, from the passages which note the sanitary, architectural, trading, and taxing regulations of the community in this singular volume. Monopoly was the rule in the days of the Plantagenets; but then it was in accordance with the habits, tastes, and desires of the citizens. A moral police was instituted by the city. Gay ladies, and gallant priests and laymen were imprisoned in the "Tun" (in Cornhill), to remain there at the discretion of the mayor and aldermen, after having their heads shaved, and being led through "Cheap," with minstrelsy. Among the curious enactments, interesting facts, and peculiar regulations contained in this volume, we read of the lease of the Gate of Aldgate to

Geoffrey Chaucer; of a female incendiary burned to death, apparently on the homœopathic principle of punishment; of the penalties attached to lying, and those inflicted on common scolds; of the limitation of wages; of the prohibition to take part in tilt or tourney, or go in quest of adventures without the king's leave; of female brewers, regratresses of bread; of the trade guilds and mysteries; of wager of law; wager of battle, &c.

A comprehensive table of contents accompanies each book or part of a book, the second excepted (for the work is divided into books.) The tenth and last book, which differs from all the others, is only a kind of abstract of various documents, as the "*Liber Horn*," compiled about A.D. 1311—1314, "*Liber Custumarum*" compiled about A.D. 1320, &c. Of these four books—

"It may suffice to say, that commencing with the usages of the city in its corporate capacity so early as the time of the Norman Conquest, they treat of the formalities that during the succeeding three centuries and more had been employed in electing the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and other civic dignitaries; the rights and duties of the city in reference to the king's justiciars when sitting in Eyre at the Tower; the various charters granted to the citizens from the time of the Conqueror to the reign of Henry V.; the due enrolment of deeds and recognizances; the Court of Hastings and the Sheriff's Court, and their respective duties and jurisdictions; the modes of acquiring the freedom, and numerous other matters more or less connected with the legal requirements and enactments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."

The notes which Mr. Riley has occasionally placed at the foot of the pages are frequent enough for the elucidation of the text, and brief enough to excite the admiring gratitude of the reader. The index appears to be both copious and accurate.

Some two centuries after the date of the compilation of the "*Liber Albus*," we come to the closing years of the reign of the first English Stuart. Leopold Ranke,² whose first volume of the history of our country, chiefly during the 16th and 17th centuries, was noticed in this *Review* for January 1860, commences his fifth book and second volume with a survey of the parliamentary dissensions which marked the later years of James I. and the earlier years of his ill-fated son. The fifth book itself contains nine chapters, in which are discussed or illustrated the relation in which James stood to the home government; the complication of the Palatinate; the parliaments of 1621 and 1624; the projected marriage of the prince of Wales with the Spanish Infanta; the alliance with France; the accession of Charles I.; the critical points in foreign politics; the Petition of Right; the murder of the Duke of Buckingham; and the proceedings of the early parliaments of Charles to the session of 1629. The unparliamentary government in England and the troubles in Scotland are the two principal topics of the sixth book, in which the author treats of the peace with France and Spain; England's participation in the events of the foreign

² "Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahr Hundert." Von Leopold Ranke. Zweiter Band. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

war of 1630—36; the antagonisms of the time and those of Britain in particular; the origin of the ecclesiastical commotions in Scotland; the covenant; the attempts at conciliation; and discusses the monarchical tendencies of the government under various aspects. The seventh book describes the combined movement in which the Scottish and English distractions terminated, and portrays in six chapters the campaign against Scotland, the relations of the courts of England and France, those of the Weimar Army and Spanish Fleet under Oquendo, the renewal of the Scotch dissensions, the arrival of the Scots in England, and the characteristics and objects of Lord Strafford and the Short Parliament. The eighth book, which has for its leading topic the Long Parliament and the king, to the break-out of the civil war, describes in nine chapters the various parliamentary proceedings, points out the aggressive tendencies which disclosed themselves in the Lower House, notices the debates on Episcopacy, relates the trial and execution of Strafford, the rebellion in Ireland, and the disturbances in London, gives some account of the concessions accorded and the new demands advanced, reviews the days of the Great Remonstrance, and concludes with the definitive explosion between the King and the Parliament.

The volume of English History now before us is in every way worthy of its predecessor. It has a thoughtful and judicial character about it, which will make it valuable as a study even after all that has been written on this revolutionary period of our annals. A philosophical treatise rather than a historical narrative, it investigates causes, exhibits sequences, and explains political or social phenomena. If reduction to system jeopardizes the truth of history, yet without some attempt to interpret the collective life of a period, some exhibition of the principles at work or the motives which prompted action, history degenerates into a dry record of unrelated facts, or is at best only a brilliant pictorial exhibition. We are far, however, from regarding Ranke as a useless system-monger. Some of his generalizations will perhaps be accepted as sound and enlightening. He gives us a clear and probably impartial view of the actors in his historical drama. The intended policy of the Stuarts, in Ranke's opinion, was to effect a union of the three kingdoms in such a way as to constitute a British monarchy, in which the Royal prerogative and the Episcopal authority should be the basis of public power. This project, commenced by James I., was carried still further by his son. To dispense with parliamentary government was not so much the object of Strafford as to make the King independent of parliament. Union with Rome was *not* part of the Stuart scheme; but the development of a severe and unrelenting Anglicanism *was*. Strafford would have been contented that parliament should exist, provided that the kingly power and the government, in questions of war and peace, and foreign affairs, should be quite exempt from parliamentary restrictions. Hence the determination to support the decision of the judges in the famous ship-money case. The splendid abilities of this despotic statesman, especially his administrative talents, as shown during his rule in Ireland, seem to be thoroughly appreciated by our historian. Charles I. he pronounces a

man of a juridical sacerdotal nature, firmly convinced that the doctrines which he advocated were true and acceptable to God; with little conception of the rights, and but a poor opinion of the might of others. Charles, he thinks, was quite unable to understand, though quite prepared to despise and oppose, the tendencies of the age. Action and reaction, the consequence of the existing political antagonism, occasioned the most extraordinary violation of that very public order which he was so anxious to maintain. Where the king saw a divine necessity, where he discerned the salvation and future greatness of Britain, the majority of his subjects beheld only tyranny at home, weakness abroad, and a hankering after a system which they had rejected, and which menaced the world itself with oppression. Such is briefly Herr Ranke's view of the origin of the great hand-to-hand fight of king and people in the seventeenth century. To those who feel desirous of making a closer acquaintance with his philosophical exposition we recommend this elaborate and thoughtful history.

From a period long anterior to that of the first Stuart England had commercial and social relations with the great Italian Republic; with that Venice, whose emancipation has yet to be achieved, before the unity and independence of Italy, of which she forms an integral part, can be said to be completed. A history of Venice, at the present juncture, which should give a full and comprehensive narrative of her rise and progress, must be welcome to many English readers. Such a history has been recently published by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt,³ a work of undoubted merit, though not the production of a philosophical or poetic mind. Mr. Hazlitt wants sympathy and imaginative power; his language is, we believe, rarely incorrect, but it is heavy and occasionally objectionable. Such an expression, for instance, as the "effluxion of time" strikes us as more ridiculous than sublime. But, with all its defects of style and presentment, his historical narrative is a welcome and valuable one. The four volumes of which it consists evince patient industry and ample research. Some transactions which it reports are probably related more accurately than they have hitherto been; while the strange misconceptions that have so long prevailed respecting the Venetian Inquisitors of State, the *Statutes* published by M. Daru as authentic, but proved by the anachronisms which they contain to be a disgraceful forgery, the *Piombi*, which were not used prior to 1591, are confronted with the facts which have been displaced by French fiction; and which not only Mr. Hazlitt but Botta, Tiepolo, Giovini, and Romanin, all alike maintain to be fiction.

The first and second volumes of the present publication are a recast of those issued by Mr. Hazlitt more than two years ago, under the title of "The History of the Origin and Rise of the Republic of Venice." No labour, says the author, has been spared to render these Venetian annals as complete as possible; and that earlier portion which has been re-written is, he tells us, to be regarded rather as a

³ "History of the Venetian Republic: her Rise, her Greatness, and her Civilization." In 4 vols. By W. Carew Hazlitt, of the Inner Temple. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

new work than as a new edition. The sources from which he has derived his information are principally the archives of Venice, Milan, London, and other contemporary records: for the general history of Italy he has consulted Muratori's *Annali d'Italia*; a variety of critical and biographical works, unknown or inaccessible to that writer; the Nozze publications; and the writings of numerous Venetian historiographers. Mr. Hazlitt also acknowledges his obligations to the documentary history of Romanin (still in progress); especially instancing his version of the story of the Two Foscari, based, however, in part, on a pamphlet by F. Berlan, as well as on the luminous work just mentioned.

Mr. Hazlitt's history, as we have already indicated, is deficient in vivacity. Quick picturesque narration is not his forte. It has been his aim, too, "rather to illustrate Venetian civilization in its rise and progress than to expatiate on sieges and battles, or to enter into diplomatic detail." Commencing with the story of the few hundred fugitives who in the fifth century sought a precarious shelter in the Lagoon from the fury of the Huns, Mr. Hazlitt traces the fortunes of the island-republic from the period of its consular-triumviral government to that of annual tribunes, with its universal suffrage assemblies, called *Arrengi*, A.D. 457, and thence after forty-six years of chaos to a kind of monarchic constitution, supplanted in 574 by a tribunitial magistracy, till the grand revolution at the close of the seventh century, when the twelve tribunes in power were compelled to abdicate in favour of a duke or doge, whose office was to be for life, and in whom were centred the civil, military, and ecclesiastical functions of the Republic. In the first volume, which contains eight chapters, we have a narrative of Venetian history down to the year 1201: comprising all the characteristic incidents and vicissitudes in which the Republic was interested from her co-operation with the Greeks in the siege of Commachio, her refusal to assist Charlemagne, and her first embassy to Constantinople, to the war between Venice and the Emperor Comnenus, the defeat of the Pisans, and the part taken by the Venetians in the fifth crusade. The defeat of the Huns at Albiola; the acquisition of Croatia and Dalmatia; the architectural improvement of the city; and her growing commerce with the East and West, are among the more important topics handled in this first volume. In the second volume, which contains seven chapters, we find Venice increasing in glory, renown, population, and territory, for "the fall of Constantinople planted the standard of St. Mark on almost every maritime city and sea-port town from Lido to Durazzo, and from Durazzo to the Golden Horn; it yielded scope to her commerce, and expanded her feudal dominion."

After the conclusion of the Truce with Genoa (in 1270), Venice declared herself sovereign of the Adriatic; in 1285, she formed an alliance with the Holy See and Charles of Anjou; in 1298, came that terrible reverse which gave victory to the Genoese, brought almost entire destruction on the Venetian fleet, and impelled Andrea Dandolo to suicide. The second volume closes with an account of the various changes now introduced into the constitution; of the siege of

Ferrara by the Venetians, and of the organization of a conspiracy against the Government. The third volume describes, in six chapters, the frustration of the scheme of the insurgents; the new war with Genoa; the commercial relations of Venice with England; the national improvements of the Republic; the victories, treason, and execution of the Doge Marino Faliero; the cession of Dalmatia; the surrender of Chioggia; the rally of the Republic; the defeat of the Hungarians; and the new acquisitions of Venice (1409-12). In the fourth volume, which contains five chapters, we have a sketch of the pacific policy of Venice, and of that continued military success by which Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia, part of Albania, and Corinth were annexed to the Republic; now also possessed of Padua, Verona, Vicenza, and its adjuncts. In this volume, too, we have an account of the virtual extinction of the Popular Assembly, and other constitutional changes; of the career of Francesco di Carmagnola; of the successes of Francesco Sforza, as captain-general of the Venetian forces; of the treaty with Mahommed II.; and the deposition and death of the Doge Francesco Foscari (1457). The concluding chapters contain much interesting matter relating to the commerce, the manufactures, the social and religious life, the language, agriculture, penal law, character, and literature of the Venetians. The most important period of Venetian history, extending from A.D. 1309 to A.D. 1457, falls within the scope of the last two volumes of Mr. Hazlitt's work. Their distinctive value lies in their novelty and superior accuracy of statement; for, as far as the English reader is concerned, many transactions in which the Republic was involved are now for the first time presented in their true light. Such at least is the claim which Mr. Hazlitt prefers; and, so far as we know, is fully justified in preferring. Among the transactions to which we allude may be specified the Quirini-Tiepolo conspiracy; the tragedy of Marino Faliero; the episode of the Two Foscari; the relations of Petrarch with Venice; the thirty years' war against the Duke of Milan; and the origin of the Council of Ten, and its real connexion with the State-Inquisition. The Council of Ten, primarily instituted to devise measures for the safety of the State after the Tiepolo conspiracy, by a gradual extension of its official life succeeded in attaining an unconstitutional longevity. Refusing to lay down its trust, it proclaimed itself a permanent assembly, displaced the great Council which had previously usurped prerogatives that once belonged to the people, and ultimately contracted into a centralizing and despotic oligarchy. Soon after its appointment, this extraordinary tribunal nominated occasional and provisional delegates, who were designated Inquisitors of the Ten, and were the precursors of the famous Inquisitors of State. According to Mr. Hazlitt, however, this latter tribunal had no existence at Venice prior to 1596, nor was it even then invested with the revolting attributes ascribed to it by malignancy or ignorance. We are glad to find this great Republic relieved of the odium of an infamous libel. It is probable that our historian is pretty much in the right, when he says, that the Decemviral constitution was adapted to the spirit of the age, as well as to the wants of Venice. We must not forget, however, that

for the internal tranquillity that Venice enjoyed she paid a heavy price—the loss of political, and the abridgment of personal, liberty.

We give a cordial and admiring welcome to an eminent American author, the successful historian of the Rise of the Dutch Republic, whose work on the United Netherlands, of which two volumes are now issued, is destined, we think, to acquire a perennial reputation.⁴ The subject of Dr. Motley's new publication is the deep-laid conspiracy of Spain and Rome against human rights, and its frustration by the united resistance of the Kingdom of England and the Republic of Holland, whose history and fortunes, by the intimate connexion formed between those two commonwealths, immediately after the death of William the Silent, became for a season almost identical. The period comprised in the present instalment of this historical epic extends over less than six years, beginning with the middle of 1584, and ending with the commencement of 1590. Two additional volumes, carrying the history of the Republic down to the Synod of Dort, will hereafter complete Dr. Motley's projected work.

The subject which our author has selected for his new history is one of deep and, we may say, world-wide interest. The Papal supremacy had become "an antiquated delusion" in the judgment of a considerable part of Europe. Freedom of conscience, instead of ecclesiastical dictation, was ere long to be the presiding principle in the moral and intellectual world of emancipated Europe. Each principle, with its practical consequences, had its champions and its antagonists. On the one hand were Rome and Spain; on the other, England and Holland. "Philip," in Dr. Motley's forcible summary, "stood enfeoffed, by divine decree, of all America, the East Indies, the whole Spanish Peninsula, the better portion of Italy, the seventeen Netherlands, and many other possessions, far and near; and he contemplated annexing to this extensive property the kingdoms of France, of England, and Ireland. The Holy League, maintained by the sword of Guise, the Pope's ban, Spanish ducats, Italian condottieri, and German mercenaries, was to exterminate heresy, and establish the Spanish dominion in France. The same machinery, aided by the pistol or poniard of the assassin, was to substitute for English Protestantism and England's queen the Roman Catholic religion and a foreign sovereign." To oppose this formidable array against the liberties of Europe, says Dr. Motley, in another part of his first volume, stood Elizabeth Tudor and the Dutch Republic. This impending contest is rightly described by our author as a death-grapple; the belligerents did show and could show no quarter. The first part of this great epic begins with the murder of the Prince of Orange, and ends with the siege of Antwerp, "one of the most brilliant military operations of the age, and one of the most memorable in its results."

In the five chapters which relate the events falling within this period, Dr. Motley sketches the position and attitude of the combatant

⁴ "History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort," &c. By John Lothrop Motley, D.C.L., &c. Vols. I., II. London: John Murray. 1860.

Powers and their principal representatives with a masterly hand. He describes the colossal sovereignty of Spain; the religious origin of the revolt of the Netherlands; the relations of the Republic to France, and of France to England; the apathy of Protestant Germany; the court and character of Henry III.; the affection of Holland for England; England's policy, and Elizabeth's treatment of both Catholics and Calvinists; the diplomatic negotiations; the projects of the League; and, finally, the stirring transactions of that memorable siege.

Woven into the tissue of this spirited and luminous narrative are glowing delineations of the personal and moral characteristics of the prominent actors in these events. These historical portraits are executed with consummate art, and with a Rubens-like splendour of colour and presentment, that make the figures take shape, and breathe and move before us. Among them are Henry III., attired like a woman and a harlot with silken flounces, jewelled stomacher, and painted face, with pearls of great price adorning his bared neck and breast, and satin-slipped feet, "darting viperous epigrams at court-ladies whom he was only capable of dishonouring by calumny;" Henry with the Scar, Duke of Guise, tall and stately, with dark martial face and dangerous eyes, and cheek damaged with the arquebuss shot at Château-Thierry, defender of the good old religion under which Paris had thriven, the idol of grocers and god of fish-women; Henry of Navarre, the chieftain of the Gascon chivalry, the king-errant, the hope and darling of oppressed Protestants, "a figure that leaps forth from the mist of three centuries, instinct with ruddy, vigorous life," with brown face, commanding blue eyes, and hawk's nose, with mien of frank authority and magnificent good humour, setting all hearts around him on fire when the trumpet sounds to battle; Philip de Marnix, lord of Sainte Aldegonde, with crisp, curly hair surmounting a tall, expansive forehead; broad, brown, melancholy eyes, overflowing with tenderness; a scholar, theologian, diplomatist, swordsman, poet, pamphleteer; the bosom friend of William the Silent; an illustrious rebel for twenty years, and then, whether from treachery or political mistake, the sudden negotiator of an unpatriotic capitulation.

The second division of Dr. Motley's history, not as laid down by him, but as conceived by us, includes the direct action of England on the common enemy, the triumphal entrance of Leicester into the Netherlands, and his administration and its results. In the twelve chapters of which it is made up are comprised many passages of peculiar interest. We have among them contemporary notices of the English people; a sketch of London; portraits of Elizabeth, Burleigh, Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, admirably done. Parma, Barneveld, Walsingham, Davison, young Prince Maurice, Martin Schenk, Hohenlo, all in greater or less degree take part in the splendid procession which moves across the historical canvass. Lame diplomacy, fruitless negotiation, alternate with heroic action and glorious daring. There are battles, sieges, victories, and defeats; there are intrigues, quarrels, squalid wretchedness, and glittering prodigality, all paralleled or contrasted in Dr. Motley's pictorial yet reflective pages.

In estimating the policy of England towards Holland, our historian describes it as from the first hesitating, but not disloyal. Elizabeth was in favour of combined action by the French and English governments,—a joint *provisional* protectorate of the Netherlands. Holland had rebelled, and there was no help for her but to fight her way out of her rebellion into success, or return to slavery. But England, then perhaps but a third-rate power, might well pause before she plunged “into the peril and expense of a war with the strongest power in the world.” Elizabeth, too, had her own reasons for hesitation. She was loth to encourage the spirit of insurrection against kings: she was vulnerable in Scotland, vulnerable in Ireland; and a war with Spain would give opportunities to rebellion and conspiracy. Hence the seemingly coquettish policy of the *imperious and parsimonious* queen. Holland was willing to become a subject province of England; but Elizabeth wanted money, not sovereignty: and some time elapsed before she had the courage to emancipate herself from the delusions of diplomacy and the seductions of thrift. The Queen, however, “embodied much of the nobler elements of the expanding English character,” and while refusing the sovereignty, promised the States to protect, and never to forsake them. The expedition under Leicester; his administration; Elizabeth’s explosions of anger consequent on his acceptance of the Governor-Generalship of the States,—in fact, the characteristic incidents of the period during which the Netherlands “acquired consistency and permanent form,” are reviewed and illustrated in the twelve chapters which we have specified. We must refer to Dr. Motley’s own eloquent pages for his characterization of the brave and magnificent grandee, and, on the whole, true-hearted but capricious Queen. We cannot forbear, however, to invite attention to the portrait which Dr. Motley sketches of Robert Dudley, undoubtedly the best abused man of his day in England—our author says in Europe. In addition to compassing the death of Amy Robsart (one of those picturesque lies that *wont* die), he is said to have poisoned Alice Drayton, Lady Lennox, Lord Sussex, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Lord Sheffield, Lord Essex, and to have achieved or contrived numerous other murders; many of which, however, were proved to be false. A word, too, we may say here of our historian’s portrait of Elizabeth Tudor. Dr. Motley may not draw a flattering likeness, but he makes on the whole, we think, a sure one of that great and victorious sovereign, with her despotic appetencies, and her genuine great-heartedness and national sympathies. We are bound to say, however, that we are by no means convinced of Elizabeth’s “hypocrisy,” or her suggestions of assassination in the sad tragedy of the ill-starred Mary Stuart; nor are we at all sure that the long imprisonment in England of that “daughter of debate” was such a violation of justice and humanity as Dr. Motley believes it to have been.

In the winter of 1587–8 Leicester terminated his career in the Netherlands, after a second attempt at administration, by his abrupt departure for England. Lord Willoughby, a soldierly, conscientious man, succeeded to the chief command of the English forces, a quick-

witted and even brilliant-minded man, but who, valuing highly his knightly word, was quite incompetent "to deal with the thronging Spanish deceptions sent northward by the great father of lies who sat in the Escorial." Elizabeth, acting in defiance of grave counsel and earnest remonstrance, now sent her peace commissioners to the Duke of Parma. The story of the secret negotiations which followed is told with, perhaps, unnecessary detail by Dr. Motley, in what we regard as the third development of the great epical transaction which he celebrates. We cannot follow him here, nor show how the kingdom of England was brought to the verge of ruin in this unequal-matched diplomatic contest, when the Queen meant to keep her promise and to be true to her word, and the Spanish monarch deliberately put his name to a lie, and chuckled in secret over the credulity of his English sister. At last, the protracted diplomacy at Ostend terminated. Quill-driving and speech-making were replaced by "the defiance of England to foreign insolence;" with Elizabeth Tudor to give effect to the challenge. Dr. Motley in his great prose war-song now describes the gathering of the ships of the Invincible Armada, the preparation of the Spanish-Roman machinery "for dethroning Elizabeth and establishing the Inquisition in England." The pomp and circumstance of this arrogant invasion, the fiery impatience of the Spaniards, the steady enthusiasm of the English, the engagement, the chase, and final catastrophe, are delineated with a firm hand and in glowing colours in our historian's picture. But we must leave him to tell how "the little nation of four millions, the merry England of the sixteenth century, went forward to the death-grapple with its gigantic antagonist as cheerfully as to a long expected holiday." We lay down the first two volumes of this noble work with a high appreciation of Dr. Motley's great and varied abilities. For diligence in research, for sound and extensive knowledge, for vigorous language, but rarely disfigured by vulgarism or grandiloquence, and for living dramatic representation, he is entitled to hold a foremost place among the first historians of our age. We trust that he will enjoy the physical health and intellectual energy requisite to the completion not only of the present work, but of that apparently more comprehensive literary enterprise which he intimates a desire to accomplish—a history of the terrific struggle which broke out in Germany after the period marked by the synod of Dort, including "the civil and military events in Holland, down to the epoch when the Thirty Years' War and the eight years' war of the Netherlands were both brought to a close by the Peace of Westphalia."

Descending to our own days, we find in Herr Rüstow's "History of the Hungarian War of Insurrection in 1848 and 1849,"⁵ an interesting account of the events of that critical period. In an introductory notice, the author indicates the general policy of the Austrian Government, and the general positions and characteristics of her subject States. The imperial policy may be briefly described as a centralizing

⁵ "Geschichte des Ungarischen Insurrectionskrieges in den Jahren, 1848 und 1849, mit Karten und Plänen." Von W. Rüstow. Erster Band. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

and Germanizing policy, favoured, in some degree, by the heterogeneous nature and opposing views of the dependent provinces, thus promoting that partial decentralization, which on the *divide et impera* principle seemed likely to conduce to the realization of a system which aimed, above all, to establish at Vienna an absolute control over the financial and military departments. In the general conflict of interests which marked this movement, Italy, Hungary, the Czechs, the Croats, Servians, and Wallachians, all having their own separate views, the Hungarian war broke out. Of this war Herr Rüstow constitutes himself the historian. The first part only of his work, which is designed to consist of four parts, in two volumes, is before us. It contains an introduction, which gives an analytical description of the provinces and peoples forming the Austrian empire at the beginning of 1848, of the constituent parts of Hungary, before and at the same period, of its political position and constitution, and of the military resources of the belligerent powers. After the introduction comes the first section of the work, with all the details relating to the period which elapsed between the convention of the Presburg Diet and the explosion of the Servian revolt. Then we have, in a second section, an account of the advance of the Austrian army, under Windischgrätz, and of Jellachich's irruption into Hungary; while the third and concluding section, treats of the progress of events from the commencement of hostilities by the Austrian general to the evacuation of Pesth by the Hungarians, in January, 1849. Among the various notabilities, Kossuth, of course, is included, whom our author, notwithstanding the damaging statements of Görgey, appears (with some reservations) to consider a man of extraordinary abilities, possessing not only great political and financial talents, but a military genius, never obscured, save in that *one* season of despair, and superior to that of the greatest Hungarian generals.

Over a more eventful insurrection than that of Hungary presided for a time the brilliant, mocking, witty, and humane Voltaire. The volume edited by MM. E. Bavoux and A. F.⁶ contains more than three hundred letters never before published. These letters are distributable into three divisions—the Ferney letters, the Saxe-Gotha letters, and miscellaneous letters. Some critical remarks, by Voltaire, on French history, follow this “epistolary mosaic.” In the first series of letters we find Voltaire at Ferney, cultivating the land, building houses for the labourers, and a church for God. This church stood by the château of Voltaire. Voltaire himself says of it, “*L’église que j’ai fait bâtir est la seule de l’univers en l’honneur de Dieu. L’Angleterre a des églises bâties à Saint Paul, la France à Sainte Geneviève, mais pas une à Dieu.*” “*C’est pour cela,*” adds the editor, “*que sur le frontispice il fit graver en lettres d’or cette inscription fameuse et si discutée, DEO EREXIT VOLTAIRE, MDCCLXI.*” In the second division of these letters, addressed to the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, between 1752 and

⁶ “Voltaire à Ferney; sa Correspondance avec la Duchesse de Saxe-Gotha,” etc. Par MM. Evariste Bavoux et A. F. Paris: Didier et C^o. 1860. London: D. Nutt.

1767, we find notices of passing events, and perhaps wearisome, but not servile, because half-poetic, adulation of the court where goodness, justice, and generosity were enthroned. In one of these letters, Voltaire, laughing at the optimists, writes—

“*Le tout est bien* recevrait un terrible soufflet si les nouvelles qui se débitent touchant une cour de votre voisinage avaient la moindre vraisemblance. . . . Si la Thuringe a eu sa petite part de la secousse de la terre, ce n'est qu'un léger mouvement, une faible éclaboussure qui est venu d'Afrique dans les États de Votre Altesse Sérénissime. Tout le mal vient de messieurs de la Barbarie : c'est à Tétuan, à Méquinez que les grand coups ont été portés. Les Mahométans ont été plus maltraités que les Chrétiens.”

These recently edited letters of the philosopher of Ferney will not, we think, be found to contain anything of primary importance, but they are not destitute of interesting notices on Rousseau, Tronchin, the King of Prussia, and others ; and they sparkle occasionally with those scintillations of wit which this inimitable pyrotechnist of persiflage threw out almost at will. The “Remarks,” by Voltaire, on le Père Daniel’s anonymous strictures on Mézerai, consist of short annotations, in which the critic is freely criticised. Mézerai, we may add, was the popular historian of France, whom the Jesuit annalist undertook to bring into discredit. According to Voltaire’s note, Daniel’s principal aim in composing his own history was to persuade the reading public that many of the kings of France were illegitimate and even adulterine children. His motive for this historical defamation of French Royalty was, continued the same authority, to gratify Louis XIV., who wished to place his own bastard progeny on the throne of France.

Prince Charles de Ligne,⁷ a contemporary of Voltaire’s, seems to have had something of the refined, mocking spirit of that distinguished Frenchman. He was born of an ancient and perhaps even imperial line, about the year 1740, we presume at Brussels. His mother died soon after his birth. His father, renowned for his bravery, held the high military rank of marshal at the siege of that city in 1746. The son, adopting the same career, acquired a far higher celebrity. Entering the army in or about the time of Joseph II., of Austria, he rose to be the principal officer in charge of the troops in the Low Countries previously to the year 1790 ; twice he was nominated to the command of the army of Italy when Napoleon was first consul. He had a passion for war but no genius for politics. Charles XII. and Condé, he says, prevented his sleeping. His military writings have been, and still are, held in reputation. He was universally known, and seems to have known everyone. His memoirs abound in sketches of, or comments on, noteworthy personages—Napoleon I., Marie Antoinette, the Emperor Joseph, Maurepas, Du Barry, Cagliostro, and others. The fragmentary autobiography now published under the name of “*Mémoires du Prince de Ligne*,” is sanctioned by his grandson and representative, the president of the senate of Belgium. In a second

⁷ “*Mémoires du Prince de Ligne, suivis de Pensées et précédées d'une Introduction.*” Par Albert Lacroix. Paris : A. Bohné. Bruxelles : F. Van Meenen et C^{ie}. London : D. Nutt.

division of the work are contained various reflections or notices which serve to illustrate the "Memoirs." An introduction by M. Lacroix, serves to characterize the hero of the autobiography. The work is lively, amusing, and the style unaffected.

M. de Schubert's "Life of the Duchess of Orleans"⁸ will necessarily have a sort of factitious importance. The Duchess was a devout, brave-hearted woman, whose sorrows and whose courage have awakened an interest in her, which the present volume will momentarily revive. Schubert, a German professor of some eminence, was appointed preceptor to the children of the Grand Duke of Mecklenbourg Schwerin in 1816. The Princess Helen, who was then only about three years of age, commenced a correspondence with the professor, after he had quitted Ludwigslust for the university of Erlangen, in 1823. The tone of the memoir may be conjectured from the fact that Schubert was, according to the French translator, a mystic, "in whose eyes human life was literally only a dream whose reality is elsewhere." The book is divided into chapters, one of which is entitled *La Vie un songe*; another is headed *Enigme de la vie présente*. Others again are more matter of fact, and show us Louis Philippe in the bosom of his family, or describe the domestic prosperity and happiness of the Duchess of Orleans. Born 24th January, 1814, the Princess Helen of Mecklenbourg Schwerin was married 30th May, 1837, to the eldest son of the Citizen King. His death, occasioned by an accident, left her a widow 13th July, 1842. In 1848, the Revolution of February drove the Royal Family of France into exile. The maternal heroism of the Duchess of Orleans, who, holding her son in her hand, entered the Chamber of Deputies, and stood unquailing amidst the uproar and menace which she had to encounter, has been often and deservedly admired. Her death took place 18th May, 1858. A few days after she was buried in a little chapel at Weybridge, which Irish sympathy placed at the disposal of the banished family, and which already enclosed the remains of Louis Philippe and the Duchess of Nemours. M. de Schubert's biographical record seems correctly described by his translator as having a triple source of interest. It contains a detailed account of the education of the young princess to the period of her marriage, and four-and-twenty letters, or fragments of letters, addressed to the professor himself, to her mother, and to a friend of her youth. While, as the third source of interest, the author's treatment of the subject is exclusively religious, and is in perfect harmony with the convictions of the Duchess of Orleans herself. It is unnecessary to enlarge on the merits or demerits of a book which has already attained a third edition.

We suppose M. de Schubert is scarcely a more mystical pietist than George Fox, the founder of the Quakers.⁹ His life has recently been rewritten by the Rev. J. S. Watson, who professes to relate it fully and

⁸ "Lettres Originales de Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans, Hélène de Mecklenbourg Schwerin, et souvenirs biographiques. Recueillis par G. H. de Schubert." Troisième Tirage. Genève: Henri Georg. Paris: Magnin. London: D. Nutt. 1860.

⁹ "The Life of George Fox, the Founder of the Quakers," &c. By the Rev. John Selby Watson, M.A., M.R.S.L. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co. 1860.

impartially: the sources from which his narrative is derived being Fox's own journal and letters, and the histories of Croese, Sewel, and Gough. Mr. Watson seems to us to be fairly entitled to the character which he claims for himself of an impartial narrator. He has told the story of George Fox's life in a plain matter of fact, colloquial style. His recital shows, we think, as it was intended to show, "how much may be effected by the resolute perseverance of one man, notwithstanding opposition, danger, insult, ridicule, and vexation of every kind." The birth and parentage of the hero; his innocent and upright youth; his religious sorrows and his aspirations after a nobler life; his long frustrated endeavours after internal peace; his vain applications for clerical instruction; his travels and wanderings; his leather suit of clothes; his revelations, imprisonments, ill-treatment; his interviews with Cromwell; his voyage to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and America, and his visit to Holland, in company with Penn and Barclay, all receive some notice from the new biographer of Fox. There is little or nothing to object to in Mr. Watson's historical presentment. It may be doubted, however, whether his want of sympathy with the truth that lies in Quakerism does not unfit him for an adequate discharge of the task which he has undertaken. The shortcomings, extravagances, and delirations of Fox are evident to all; but the significance of the doctrine of the indwelling of the Divine light in the soul of every man; of the protest against forms, hat-worship, &c.; of the complaint that "the faith of the sects stands on a man who died at Jerusalem sixteen hundred years ago;" and of the demand "for a deliverer for that year, for that hour, a light for every moment," is not brought out in Mr. Watson's useful and interesting little volume. He has given us the materials, however, for making a living picture of his hero. And we may, if we have the skill, embody in mental portraiture the dauntless, true-hearted, gentle-natured founder of the Friends; the sad, lonely, intelligent, yet wrong-headed reader of the sacred writings "in hollow trees and desolate places;" the eloquent persuasive preacher who shook "the earthly and airy spirit" of religious professors, so that it was a dreadful thing unto them when it was told them *the man in leather breeches is come*. In speaking of the tenets of the Quakers, Mr. Watson states that they do not receive the doctrine of the Trinity. Is this the case? We have not present access to the writings of Fox, Penn, and Barclay, but the sole secondhand authority which we are able to consult describes their faith as Trinitarian, and Mr. Watson's averment is quite new to us.

The next portrait in our biographical gallery is that of Dr. Carlyle,¹⁰ a man who appears to have had as little of the mystic in his composition as any of us. Jupiter Carlyle, as he was called "from having sat, Sir Walter Scott says, more than once for the king of gods and men," is very fairly described by the great novelist as "a shrewd, clever old carle." The son of the minister of the parish of Prestonpans, Alexan-

¹⁰ "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk; containing Memorials of the Men and the Events of his Time." Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1860.

der Carlyle, embracing his father's profession, settled at Inveresk 1748, being then about twenty-six years of age. Dr. Carlyle attained an influential personal position, in the Kirk, successfully recommending candidates—sometimes from mixed motives—for ecclesiastical promotion. Conservative in his predilections, and jealous of innovation, he was tolerant, moderate in his theological opinions, and opposed to religious fanaticism. His social habits and literary accomplishments procured him many friends, both in the world of rank and that of intellect. Born 26th January, 1722, and dying 25th August, 1805, he had rich and various experiences of men, manners and events. Some of these experiences are recorded in his "Autobiography;" a work unfortunately not commenced till the author had entered on the seventy-ninth year of his age, and abruptly terminated by death before the completion of his eighty-fifth year. The period which these memorials serve to illustrate begins A.D. 1722, and ends A.D. 1770, when the minister of Inveresk had attained his forty-eighth year. To us this volume has many recommendations. It is not the work of a literary artist, but of an educated gentleman, who tells a plain tale in plain words. It reads like a trustworthy report of what he saw and heard, embodied in a somewhat dry form, but not without an occasional graphic power. The anecdotes related of the many remarkable persons whom Dr. A. Carlyle numbered among his friends or acquaintances, are not mere vaticisms, but exemplifications of life, manners, and character. The autobiographer carries us back to a period when the Border Country had not "recovered from the effects of that century of wretched government which preceded the Revolution, and commenced at the accession of James." In those days lived a certain Lady Bridekirk, who could drink a Scots pint of brandy with ease. It was the age of the religious and licentious Lord Grange, who in violation of all law, imprisoned his wife for many years, first in the island of Hesker, then of St. Kilda, and lastly of Harris. It was the age of the famous Colonel Gardiner, whose supernatural conversion, as told by the pious Dr. Doddridge, with the theatrical accessories of a visible representation surrounded with a glory and an unusual blaze of light, will, we may hope, henceforth take its place among the legends or myths of religious revivalism. According to Alexander Carlyle, not only was there no meteor, but the first serious impression produced on Gardiner's mind by the reading of a good book, *Gurnall's Christian Armour*, was not even a nocturnal phenomenon. The conversion occurred, not at midnight, but at mid-day.

In 1736, Carlyle, then a student at Edinburgh, witnessed the escape of Robertson from the Tolbooth Church, was present at the execution of Wilson, and beheld Porteous, "inflamed with wine and jealousy," fire on the people. In 1745, he saw war come into his father's parish of Prestonpans, and the battle fought in which Colonel Gardiner fell. He saw, too, Prince Charles Edward, a good-looking man of about five feet ten inches, with dark red hair, black eyes, regular features, long visage, much sun-burnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy. "The victory at Preston put an end to his authority. He had not a mind fit for command at any time, far less to rule the Highland chiefs in prosperity."

Among the literary notabilities whom he knew was the amiable,
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supper-giving, pleasant-talking David Hume, going about without hoofs or horns, the friend of the young clergy, a really "innocent good soul," weeping over his mother's death, or pulling a large key from his pocket, given him by his maid Peggy that she might not sit up for him! Adam Smith, Smollet, Home, Robertson, Franklin, Ferguson, Blair, were also among Carlyle's acquaintances. Once he rode with Mr. Shenstone of the Leasowes, "a large, heavy, fat man, dressed in white clothes and silver lace, with his grey hairs tied behind and much powdered." Later he heard Dr. Dodd, "a man afterwards too well known," preaching to the Magdalens, and liked neither text, preacher, nor sermon. Sketches of social life and manners abound in these memorials. We may learn from them what Harrogate was in 1763; or what were the hospitalities of the Duke of Argyle at Inverary, or of Charles Townshend, who married the duke's niece, at a tavern in Edinburgh. Notices, too, there are of Chatham, Bute, Ossian Macpherson, "Immateriality" Baxter; John Wilkes, "whose ugly countenance was very striking," but who, even at eighteen, was "a spritely entertaining fellow;" of Garrick, of the young Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, of Lord Elcho, and Sir James Dalrymple, who though refused the presentation of Inveresk, welcomed the new minister to his parish, and became his firm friend—a liberal-minded Christian surely, for he maintained that Collins, the Deist, not only "practised every Christian virtue without believing in the Gospel," but that he was certainly in heaven, having "swam ashore on a plank." We have now said enough to characterize the man and the book which he has left us, as his sole literary bequest of any worth; for Dr. Alexander Carlyle was not ambitious of distinction in the world of letters. His ambition, as his editor observes, was to dignify his calling by "making for it a place along with rank and wealth and distinction of every kind. This object he carried through with a high hand, and scarcely a primate of the proud Church of England could overtop in social position and influence the Presbyterian minister of Inveresk."

BELLES LETTRES.

FEW novels, recently announced, have been looked for with so eager an expectation as that which promised a full explanation of why Paul Ferroll killed his wife;¹ the remarkable power of the story, which it was to throw light upon insured an eager attention to anything coming from the same hand. The firm grasp of its subject and the profound psychological analysis evinced in Paul Ferroll at once placed it in the very highest ranks of modern fiction. The effects of his crime on the stern and resolute man, who resolved to wield the sword of justice in a case not amenable to the laws of society, the ab-

¹ "Why Paul Ferroll killed his Wife." By the Author of "Paul Ferroll." London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.

solute isolation, and the destruction of every affection, but that one for the gratification of which he committed it, are developed with a power that has nowhere been equalled. What can be more profoundly true than the selfish desire to gain at least the full advantage of his crime, which makes Paul Ferroll engross, with an almost tyrannous exclusiveness, the whole attention and love of the wife he had so dearly purchased, unless it be the artificial coldness which he cultivates towards his lovely daughter, conscious as he is that to allow his affections to expand on any human thing must only end some day, in adding to the bitterness of that retribution which he was far too clear sighted not to know might possibly overtake him.

But all the power displayed in "Paul Ferroll" was inadequate to compensate for the painful basis on which the story reposes, and for the same cause it met with a similar fate to the "Cenci" of Shelley. Although kept in the background with consummate skill, the fact of the murder, of necessity, threw a lurid light over the whole progress of a most dramatic tale. If the first story suffered so much from the impossibility of reconciling us to a murder already accomplished, how shall the second and present one lay before us ground which can in any way appear adequate to support the burden of a premeditated assassination? "Why Paul Ferroll Killed his Wife" is a remarkable failure; it adds nothing but details to the hints contained in the former part of his history, and details that must weaken, because they particularize, the weight of provocation given him by his first wife. We knew before that he was the victim of a perfidious and inhuman stratagem; we now only know that lies and forgery entered into its details, but we are also forced to see what amount of deception was sufficient to blind him to the truth, and we can no longer escape giving him a full share of that blame he so heavily visited on the head of his deceiver.

As a *prelude* to "Paul Ferroll" we look upon this novel as a mistake; indeed we consider that any prelude must have failed; the author, too, in the concluding paragraph of her book almost confesses that she anticipates such a judgment. "From the premises laid before him, the reader need not, indeed, have concluded that even that man would do that deed! but since it was told in 1855 that the husband killed the wife, so now, in 1860, it is explained why he killed her."

This is indeed true; the reader would be far from concluding that he would kill his wife did not the title of the book proclaim that it contained his reasons for doing so. If Paul Ferroll could be forgotten, a different conclusion might be given to the second novel, which would greatly improve it; for it is altogether inadequate to support the end to which it leads. With a strange caprice the name of the hero is changed, and the Paul Ferroll of the first becomes the Mr. Leslie of the second novel, and more is changed than his name. Everything about Paul Ferroll indicates a man of mature age, his personal influence in his neighbourhood, his established literary reputation, the very firmness and completeness of character which enabled him to carry out his guilty resolves, and which gave peculiar poignancy to the offence which tempted to it, are all incompatible with the age at which Mr. Leslie is represented to have married Miss Chanson. At three-and-twenty Paul

Ferroll would have been a monster, and by these latest revelations he could have been no more. From the previous history no one would assume him to be less than thirty-five; his passions are too virile and his judgment too mature for the somewhat precocious adolescent he appears in this history of his dire provocation; and one year could not transmute the Mr. Leslie of this novel into the Paul Ferroll we knew of old, even though that year made him a murderer. Doubtless the fact, that from that time forth every man's hand was against him, would exercise a profound influence on the character of one who was conscious of it; but even this will not bridge over the chasm between the two men even in the psychological point of view alone, while it leaves other and more external differences untouched.

Though we consider this novel in all points inferior to its predecessor, it is far above the ordinary routine; the characters are, as might be expected, well and clearly drawn, and the portrait of Elinor, Paul's second wife, as an innocent young girl, with all the accomplishments that could be given by a conventual education, and with perhaps something more than all the ignorance of the world implied by it is in the highest degree charming, and makes us hope that we shall not have again to wait so long an interval as five years before we are gratified by another tale from one of the most original novelists of the day.

An Irish novel from an Irish point of view is hardly likely to be thoroughly popular on this side St. George's Channel.² The national fashion of looking at all things through a sentimental haze, however amiable and attractive, is in so many particulars repugnant to the practical sense of the Anglo-Saxon, that however we may be charmed by its good feeling and poetry, we cannot give ourselves up to the impressions produced by such a book as Mr. Tierney's without being disturbed by questionings which destroy the effect it would otherwise produce. The boy there is a boy only in the sense in which the word is used in the sister isle, which does not prevent his standing over six feet in his stockings; and his battles with oppressive landlords, avaricious middle-men and other stock Irish tyrants are attended by an uniform and constant success, which stands in very remarkable contrast with the powers displayed in the contest. In fact, this novel would be a very pleasing one if it could be read, as it has been written, without thinking and without criticism; but the great questions which group themselves round the controversy on Irish land are not to be answered by summary reflections which triumphantly exclaim that "after all men are of more value than many sheep."

Mr. Tierney interests us much more in the fortunes than in the proceedings of his hero and heroine; we admire their benevolent open hands and spirit of ready help during that dreadful famine year, but we cannot help wondering that resources represented to be so limited were made adequate to the call upon them. It is greatly to be regretted that so violent an attack should be made on the administrative

² "The Struggles of Dick Massey, or the Battles of a Boy." By Reginald Tierney. Dublin: J. Duffy. 1860.

details of that relief to Ireland which surely was without precedent in the history of affiliated nations. It is peculiarly unpleasant to find the fact of England's exertions coldly alluded to only that a warm diatribe might be indulged in against the instruments which were necessarily employed. The picture of Government engineers enjoying themselves over champagne and every delicacy with starving crowds around their doors, diverting to their own luxurious enjoyment the funds which should have been devoted to the famishing peasantry they were sent to succour, is manifestly exaggerated, if not untrue, and the tone in which it is told is sadly discouraging.

If educated men like our author allow themselves to be so carried away by their prejudices, what can be expected from their ignorant inferiors? England has a right to expect at the hand of every cultivated Irishman such acknowledgment as will allay the animosities of his uneducated compatriots; which, where just, are founded on religious and political wrongs, and not on the evil points of social arrangements native and peculiar to their own soil.

The boy's battles are with weak foes, and each antagonist is introduced only that the victory over him may give a new lustre to the model Irishman; that his antagonists themselves are quite as characteristic of Ireland is conveniently forgotten or carefully kept out of sight. It is perhaps too much to expect a dispassionate view of Irish society at the hands of an Irish man, and it is certainly a gain to find one like Mr. Tierney, who is not rancorous; but the general moderation and amiable tone of his book make it the more necessary to protest against views which are popular only in proportion to the ignorance of those economical laws which are the last and slowest growth of a national intelligence.

"Over the Cliffs" is a novel of the old sort; it makes no pretensions to deep psychological analysis; it preaches no peculiar gospel of its own, but aims only at the simple end of amusing its readers,³ and if variety and a crowded canvass will do it, the author ought to be successful. If the interest in pirates, smugglers, wreckers, contrabandists, and successful villainy ultimately exposed, still survives; if the sufferings of delicate women thrown among harsh and dissolute men can give interest to a novel, "Over the Cliffs" would be found very interesting indeed. The story, however, is too diffuse, too many threads are taken up, which though they are brought into some sort of external connexion with one another, do not make the firm web of a well-wrought plot. The descriptions of sea-side scenery on our southern coast are very well done, and many a charming picture of valleys opening to the sea will delight its readers; but, "Over the cliffs," once read, will hardly tempt to a second perusal, and perhaps the author did not expect that it should. A novel of incident alone must be of the highest ability to maintain more than a passing moment of existence.

³ "Over the Cliffs." By Charlotte Chanter. Author of "Ferny Combs." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

"Wearing the Willow" is a considerable improvement on "The Nut-Brown Maids," but labours under the same defects.⁴ The period and society in which each of these tales is laid, has been studied by the author with great care, but he has a difficulty in properly mastering the materials he has accumulated. The stories labour under a weight of illustrative matter. In this case the Irish capital and the rural districts of Scotland sixty years ago are very well painted; indeed, the elaborate care bestowed upon the description of the society in which they are placed dwarfs the hero and heroine, and constantly wearies the reader who pursues their fortunes. Bride Fielding, the daughter of an Irish councillor, is made love to in a most Irish fashion, by Frank Boyle, who, concerned as second in a duel which turns out a murder, is obliged to fly his country. Bride's friends all die, and she goes to live with some Scotch relations, among whom her old lover shortly arrives as a French prisoner on parole; after a long and painful game at cross purposes, they marry, and are happy; but the reader is greatly at a loss why so natural a conclusion was not more speedily arrived at.

"The Wortlebank Diary" is a number of tales contributed by the author of "Kathie Brande" to Household Words and other periodicals.⁵ They are set in a framework of domestic incident in her family, which adds but little to their interest. This device invented by Wilkie Collins in "After Dark" is a convenient method of increasing the bulk of a collection, and if not managed with great skill, amounts only to the introduction of another tale told in detachments. These stories are very inferior to the author's longer works, and seldom have anything of the interest which attached us to "Against Wind and Tide." They are for the most part characterized by an affectionate sentimentality, or by a melo-dramatic plot, offering the homage of an ineffectual imitation to the weakest points in the works of the editor of the paper in which they for the most part first appeared. Many of the stories turn on murder, and in all of them the criminal is pursued by a remorse which seizes him the moment after its commission. The author seems to think that the dead body of a murderer's victim exercises a kind of supernatural moral effect on the conscience. In most of these tales, the motives which prompt the crime committed, have as little foundation in the character of the criminal, in so far as we are made acquainted with it, as the consequences themselves. The guilty apprehensions and spectral delusions which wait upon these murderers, are all founded on a sort of popular superstition and horror of murder, which finds vent in the saying that "murder will out." The most hardened are represented as struck with terror at the sight of results they had meditated on for years. This seems to us a fundamentally wrong conception of crime, a long-premeditated murder brings with it

⁴ "Wearing the Willow, or Bride Fielding; a Tale of Ireland and of Scotland Sixty Years Ago." By the Author of "Nut Brown Maids." London: Parker and Son. 1860.

⁵ "The Wortlebank Diary, and some Old Stories from Kathie Brande's Portfolio." By Holme Lee. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1860.

no such revulsion of feeling. A haunting sense of insecurity may be the constant attendant of one who has slain his fellow; but the moral awakening of a bitter remorse is very far from being the case, as a more complete psychology, if not a fuller acquaintance with criminal records might have shown the author. There is an amiable tone about the general reflections in these tales which is pleasing, but their false views of life and impractical sentiment will hardly, we think, give them a greatly increased circle of readers, now that they are offered to the public in these new three volumes.

"*Artist and Craftsman*," a very good, but also a very ambitious novel, concerns itself not only with the antithesis of its title, but also with those between gentleman and artizan, art and morals, and in our opinion resolves none of them with the requisite completeness.⁶ It is a mistake to set up an opposition between art and morals—art is neither moral nor immoral, and cannot be called the latter in any but that privative sense in which it would be also true to call science so. The effect of the engrossing pursuit and love of art upon the personal character of its votaries is a subject that might be made the basis of a first-rate romance; but this is not the course pursued by the author of "*Artist and Craftsman*." The beauty, value and importance which art gives to the passing moment, and the inability of any art whatever to do more than seize it as it passes, and for a time to bid it stay because it is so fair, is its essential characteristic, and is so far hostile to the moral idea which subordinates the fairest moments of our lives to its general rules, and claims absolute authority over everything that has any tendency to disturb or exercise a disproportionate influence over that uniform character it claims to impress upon our lives. Art and morals are not opposed to one another in this novel in their essential characters, but art is sacrificed in the person of the heroine to certain accidental and external prejudices which have connected themselves, and not without good grounds, with the persons of artists. The heroine resigns a career of assured success because *La Traviata* and the ballet are given on the boards she would have to tread. If such mere temporary arguments as these may be made use of, the irreproachable life of Jenny Lind and others is a sufficient answer. The same fault is to be found with the solution of the other problems in this novel.

The characteristic features of gentleman and artizan cannot be adequately represented by such unprejudiced gentlemen and such an exceptional artizan as the author introduces to us in his tale. Learning without arrogant self-esteem, and labour without class prejudices, are pleasant and agreeable things, but are very rarely found under the conditions in which the author of "*Artist and Craftsman*" brings them before us. The antithesis in this point too is evaded by the gradual advancement of the artizan to the headship of a great engineering firm, where everything of the artizan falls away from him, except his origin, which betrays itself only in vague manliness and moral sentiment. It is the defect of most novels which concern themselves with the dignity of labour that the favourite supporter of this lofty character is always

⁶ "*Artist and Craftsman*." Cambridge: Macmillan. 1860.

elevated in the long run above the necessity of depending on it. Success in life so surely follows the laborious commencement, that we cannot avoid the impression of hollowness in all the fine things that have been said on conscientious toil.

This practice is about as effective as the educational one which finishes each lesson with, "There's a cake for being good." Cannot any one give us a really manly and contented artizan who bravely fights his fight without these exceptional rewards? It cannot be for want of prototypes that we have no such character in fiction, but from the fact very manifest in the present novel that the authors of such tales are very ignorant of the class they pretend to paint. The great things of life are seen in this novel through a haze of university training, and are painted with a certain hectic beauty which is far from healthy, this defect reaches even to its style which is often forced and unnatural. A little more simplicity both of conception and treatment, would have rendered this a far better book. The author takes his reader wherever he has been himself, and even introduces an Arabic conversation that we may conclude he has seen the pyramids. He displays all his accomplishments and talks his finest. We do not mean to say that his accomplishments are not genuine, and his talk not good, but both are forced too forward—we long for moral and intellectual repose. The incongruities of the hero and heroine's social position are not dwarfed and absorbed by any high moral principle that shall reveal their intrinsic littleness, but are evaded as mentioned above by the hero's advancement in life. The artist does not marry the craftsman, but only one who has once been such.

Into the details of the plot we do not intend to go, it is sufficient to say that it is interesting and will reward the reader's curiosity. Many of the subordinate characters are very well conceived—the athletic graduate Digby, the Maestro and the Italian Pia, are, in our opinion, more successful than the chief characters of the tale. The Vantini family are too a very pleasing picture. There is little doubt but that the author will write again, and better; for after all, our objections resolve themselves chiefly into this, that all things in the tale are illuminated, not by the clear light of day, but by the reflected and disturbing lights of a painted collegiate window. A more direct experience of life will bring with it a more sober style, both of thought and experience, and one day we shall have a simpler and more weighty, but less pretentious book than "Artist and Craftsman."

"The Skeleton in the Cupboard" is a taking, but somewhat vulgar title, and the tale itself is like unto it.⁷ Euphemia Blackstone, the young and beautiful daughter of a city merchant, marries, as his third wife, Sir Felix Bohun; without affection for him she is tempted too strongly by the title and settlements. Before leaving her home she engages as confidential maid one Mrs. Ponsford, in spite of certain rumours against her character, and suspicious circumstances under which she has left former aristocratic situations, but which she is yet

⁷ "The Skeleton in the Cupboard." By Lady Scott, Authoress of the "Hen-pecked Husband," &c. London: Saunders and Otley. 1860.

able to explain in an apparently satisfactory manner. After a prolonged stay in Paris, Sir Felix brings his somewhat reluctant young wife home to the ancient seat of his family and to his brother Guy, who has dwelt there, looking after the estate, during his very frequent absences. This brother is Lady Bohun's first skeleton, and she resolves to drive him from the house at whatever cost to his or his brother's feelings. The most complete deference will not disarm her, and finding her success not so immediate as she expected, she carries her husband, in failing health, up to town. The ingenuity of her methods of tormenting her husband and brother-in-law, supply the best scenes in the book; but there is a certain coarseness of mind betrayed by the heroine that at first surprises us, as we were not led to expect it from the manner in which she is represented to have been brought up. The requisite confidant of her purposes she finds in her maid, Ponsford, who soon acquires a complete ascendancy over her mind, and during their stay in London tempts her still further to exert her authority over her husband, whose health breaks down under the constant surveillance to which he is subjected. In this half prostrate state he is brought, by the intimidations of his wife and Ponsford, to make a fresh will, disinheriting his brother, and leaving his whole property to his wife, with a heavy legacy to her attendant. His brother, hearing of his failing health, at last follows him to town, but is constantly prevented, by the ingenuity of Ponsford and Lady Bohun, from ever coming to an understanding with him, though his dying brother acknowledges he has something on his mind of great importance to them both. When all other means are about to fail, and Sir Felix has demanded a private interview with his brother, Lady Bohun resolves to return at a moment's notice to Bohun Court, she having ascertained that Sir Guy had at last taken a London residence, finding his treatment at home too intolerable; but his brother's critical condition will not admit of the separation he had thought best for both of them: he follows Sir Felix to Bohun Court, and there, after many interrupted efforts, his brother tells him of the will he has made, of the sorrow he ever since endured, of a codicil he has since executed, and which he carries about with him in the lining of his dressing coat, by which all things are restored to their ancient footing. He has no sooner finished his confessions, than the brothers are interrupted by Ponsford, who has by this time acquired the greatest ascendancy over Sir Felix also, and has become his chief nurse. For days she never leaves his side; he is manifestly dying, and in the act of death calls on his brother to search, for he has been deprived of the codicil, and dies with the despairing thought that he has disinherited his brother.

After his death the codicil cannot be found, and in spite of the protests of her honourable father, and the murmurs of the whole neighbourhood, Lady Bohun enters on the property, her enjoyment of which is soon disturbed by mysterious hints on the part of Ponsford, and by overbearing conduct which she is forced to submit to, by very unequivocal insinuations that the missing document might be found if properly sought for. This submission puts her fully in her servant's

power, who exercises it to draw constantly increasing sums of money from her reluctant mistress.

As soon as decency will permit, the widowed lady marries her cousin, a worthless roué, to whom she had been attached in old days, before she left her father's house. Her conduct to her first husband is now fully avenged on her by her second, who squanders her property, outrages her tastes, and neglects her person.

While undergoing this trial she has to face the increasing insolence of Ponsford, who at last demands an annuity, and resigns her situation. She is forced to do this by some inquiries which have been renewed respecting her conduct in a former one; she finds that she must again face the accusation of having held her former mistress's hand while she signed away from her family the greater part of her property. She has barely escaped, having forced Lady Bohun to accept her terms, when the officers of justice arrive at Bohun Court, but directed by her mistress they apprehend her on her arrival in London, having forwarded the necessary instructions by the electric telegraph.

In revenge for this betrayal, Ponsford exposes her mistress's complicity in the concealment of the codicil to her father, who, almost broken-hearted, forces her, though dying from the effects of remorse and shame, in the first paroxysm of which she had burst a blood-vessel, to resign the missing paper to the hands of Sir Guy, who arrives in time to take it, and to accord his forgiveness for all past enmities.

Ponsford, the vampire, as she is called, is transported for the forgery, but escapes any retribution for the ruin she has brought upon her last mistress. The special skeleton this novel is directed against is the influence of a wily dependant, weakly allowed to grow until it changes its character into overbearing insolence. The incidents, it will be seen from the above sketch, are out of all proportion to the conclusion, and not only so, but all probability is outraged for the dramatic purposes of the *dénouement*. It is a great oversight of the author's that we are not made acquainted with the means by which so closely watched an invalid as Sir Felix yet managed to execute and have witnessed the codicil to his will, on which the plot turns. Too closely watched to be able even to give it to his brother, the reader is left in ignorance and wonder as to how he could possibly have possessed himself of it.

Although there is a great deal that is forced and impossible in the course of events, the separate scenes are drawn with very considerable power, the characters are well worked out, and act consistently throughout; they interest a not too critical reader, which after all is one of the chief merits to which a novelist should aspire.

A very fresh and original collection of Scotch stories, by Mr. Alexander Leighton, has reached a second edition, and well deserves the success which is implied by doing so.⁸ Many of them turn upon

⁸ "Curious Storied Traditions of Scottish Life." By Alexander Leighton, Editor, and one of the authors of "Border Tales." Second Edition. Edinburgh: W. P. Nimmo. 1860.

the supernatural, and often end at last in a humorous *dénouement*. Both superstition and humour have a very national character, and a certain dry metaphysical discussion of the supposed problems involved in the various narratives, has the effect of a sly and solemn fun, which is very amusing, in spite of a certain pedantry which plays somewhat too long on the terms of Scotch demonology. The stories are told with great dramatic skill, the solution of the mystery, when it is afforded at all, being protracted with much ingenuity.

Many of them illustrate the administration of justice in Scotland, and some of them point to defects in its system which seem inseparable from the office of public prosecutor. It is sometimes said to be a defect of our system that we have no such officer; but these tales, as well as the constant evidence of the French courts of law, show that evils may flow from the excited *amour propre* of such an official, almost, if not quite, as great as any of those which are often pointed to as the natural consequence of our dispensing with that means of bringing criminals to justice.

As a companion volume to Mr. Robert Demaus' Introduction to the History of English Literature,⁹ Messrs. Black have published a similar volume, by M. Gustave Masson, assistant at Harrow, on the History of French Literature. We have already spoken favourably of Mr. Demaus' book, and can do so of its companion in still higher terms. It is excellently adapted for its purpose, as a hand-book for the upper classes of schools, in which something more than the mere grammar of the language is attempted to be taught. As he closes each period of his review, M. Masson gives a very useful table of authors to be consulted by those who wish to study the subject which his limits do no more than allow him to introduce to his readers. The extensive study requisite for the production of a small volume like the present, has but little opportunity of displaying itself otherwise than in the judicious remarks and general mastery of his subject which M. Masson everywhere displays. The book is remarkably well fitted for the purpose it has in view, and will, we should think, meet with the welcome it deserves at the hands of those engaged in education.

Mr. Nutt has published a very well executed hand-book of German poetry for the use of schools.¹⁰ The collection is made by Herr Graesser, of the Marienwerder Gymnasium, and extends from the commencement of the classical period up to the present day: it is preceded by a review of the history of German poetry, necessarily very succinct but judicious, and, as far as its confined limits would allow satisfactory. Specimens of more than one hundred poets are given, and for the most part acknowledged master-pieces selected, while great care has been taken to fit the moral tone of the book to that audience to which it aspires. A kind of lexicon of linguistic difficulties is given at the end. Some of the explanations, however, seem to us to be rather trivial, and to pre-

⁹ "Introduction to the History of French Literature." By Gustave Masson, B.A., M.R.S.L., &c. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1860.

¹⁰ "A Thesaurus of German Poetry." By O. Graesser, Master of the Royal Prussian Gymnasium, Marienwerder. London: D. Nutt, 1860.

suppose difficulties that a very elementary knowledge of the language would be sufficient to obviate. So much care has evidently been bestowed upon the preparation of this volume, that we are surprised to find that Freiligrath's translation from Reboul, the baker poet of Nismes, "the Angel and the Child" is given as an original poem. The volume can be cordially recommended to all schools and colleges.

In his justly celebrated copyright collection of current English literature, Mr. B. Tauchnitz is about to add a series of the standard English poets, the volumes of which will appear with greater frequency and regularity than heretofore, when his press has waited the day's popularity to set it in movement.¹¹

The collection of Coleridge's Poems which has just appeared is edited by perhaps the most competent person into whose hands it could possibly have been put. The poet Freiligrath, apart from his more personal renown, is well known as one of the most accomplished translators of his time. His intimate acquaintance with our poetical literature renders him peculiarly fitted for the task he has, we understand, assumed of furnishing the publisher with introductory notices to the forthcoming volumes.

The critical biography of the poet which he has supplied to the present volume shows an acquaintance with the literature of the subject that leaves nothing to be desired, and contains some remarks on the origin of Coleridge's principles of versification that would well repay a further research in the direction indicated. His intellectual obligations to German literature are here very properly alluded to, but by no means in that spirit of national exaggeration which would most probably have been the case with a less intelligent and well-informed editor.

E. Hoefer, a collaborateur with Hacklander, in the *Hans Blätter*, a Stuttgart paper, after the manner of the Household Words, is one of the most popular of modern German story tellers.¹² His popularity is well deserved by the care with which his tales are invested with a local colour, and the air of literal truth he manages to throw over them. The artifices by which this result is arrived at are, since their exemplification, by their greatest master Defoe, familiar to everyone; but familiarity with the means and the power of producing the effect are very different things. A volume of tales just published by Hoefer gives a very good idea of his manner: the subjects of the eight stories it contains are chiefly illustrations of popular superstitions or scenes from military life. These garrison anecdotes are very characteristic, and German beyond description. The rigid discipline, rough manners, coarse practical jokings, and *naïve* witticisms, make up a picture that carries with it the stamp of reality. Some scenes from the wars of the first French Empire are painted with a minuteness of detail that renders them wonderfully life-like.

¹¹ Tauchnitz "Collection of British Authors," Vol. 512: "The Poems of S. T. Coleridge." Leipzig: 1860.

¹² "Deutsche Herzen, Skizzen, Studien und Geschichten." Von Edmund Hoefer. Prag: Kober and Markgraf. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

The best of these, in our opinion, is the tale called *Extracts from my Father's Diary*, in which the hopes and fears of a small community, threatened by the approach of a division of the French army, are described with uncommon skill. Equally skilful, but not so satisfactory, is the last tale, called the *Story of a Looking-glass*, in which the glass itself, or rather the fragments of it, is made to tell the tale of events which have been reflected on its surface. There is something forced in the sympathy of this piece of furniture with the fate of its lovely mistress, who falls a victim to the intrigues of a princely family, but the author's fondness for telling his story out of the mouth of an eye-witness forces him here to find eyes for events that could not have had witnesses with eyes of their own.

The moral tone of these tales is quite irreproachable, and we think they are calculated to gain for Herr Hoefer in England a popularity which will in some degree approach that he enjoys in his native country.

The new collection of tales and fancies, by Andersen,¹³ have all the somewhat helpless graces of his earlier books, but with increasing years he becomes diffuse and prosy: the old tendency to edifying morals has quite overgrown the occasional pure worship of beauty to be found in his earlier sketches. These nursery tales for grown people pall upon the taste, and the more so with the increasing disproportion between the moral and its vehicle. The virtues of humility, patience, and resignation, acquire in his hands a childlike aspect, and lose all pretence to virility, while the images and stories which are the vehicles for recommending them are too often out of the sphere of children's conceptions, and of late always too long-drawn for children's patience. Andersen writes like a child, often with childlike grace and cleverness; but few people can support for ever the prattle of the most intelligent boy, even if he be at the same time one of the most amiable. Sympathy with the more manly virtues of his race, but rarely shows itself in Andersen: he constantly shrinks from rough handling, and is prepared to apologize even for his existence. In this volume he gives an account of a visit paid to C. Dickens in 1857, which has all the characteristics of a boy's account of his holiday treat—everything charms him, and he is constantly ready with sentimental tears of joy; the smallest and the most inconsiderable events of the day are elaborately recounted with an amount of superfluous feeling that becomes wearisome. When he describes a game of cricket, he does so in a fashion that makes us long to see him stand up to some quick round bowler—it would be a spectacle for gods and men; we suppose, however, he sat upon a hill with the ladies.

In this last series his simplicity is often elaborate, and we very rarely meet with anything that approaches the natural spontaneity of that old favourite, "The Ugly Duckling." In his story from the Land Hills of Jutland, there are, however, two little fables in his best manner, one of the "Eel Mother," and another of the "Burial of a Mermaid."

¹³ "Aus Herz und Welt." Von H. C. Andersen. T. Wiedemann, Leipzig. London: Williams and Norgate.

and its Consequences:" these, if we had space at our command, we would extract, but must content ourselves with indicating where they are to be found.

The ancient songs of the 16th and 17th centuries collected by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, is a much less attractive collection than the "Wunderhorn" of Von Armin and Brentano, and no doubt owes its existence to the popularity of that charming collection of national songs and ballads.¹⁴ It was not to be expected that the songs of the more cultivated and easy classes of society should possess the characteristic peculiarities which give vitality to songs that dwell on the lips of the people. Love, hunting, and drinking, when celebrated in songs to be sung in a society making any pretence to cultivation, are apt to clothe themselves in commonplaces and conventional expressions that vary but little from age to age. This collection, too, suffers from being by no means the first gleaning of a field which has been long since reaped of its finest crop. Whether it be most characteristic of the gleaner or the field, we cannot say; but the best and by far the most numerous of the songs here collected, sing the praises of wine or beer, and some of them with an amusing mixture of sincere admiration and solemn pedantry which is very natural and characteristic. The volume is very well edited, and the special learning of the author most full and satisfactory.

Let no one be deluded by the promise of the title-page of the "Last of the Dynasty of Rameses," that it contains an account of the manners and history of the Egyptians three thousand years ago.¹⁵ Good wine needs no bush, and a good romance seldom lays claim to so grand an epithet as *culturhistorisch*. The lovers in this tale are an aristocratic warrior and a Jewess, who has been captive in the gold quarries of Upper Egypt since her fourth year, and who expounds to the benighted worshipper of Osiris, the latest views of German *savants* on the influence of Egyptian modes of thought on the Mosaic theology with such effect, that he immediately forswears his ancestral faith, and prepares to forsake his name and country, that as a Hebrew proselyte he may obtain her hand.

In their endeavour to escape from Egypt, they fall into the midst of the revolution which destroys the last King Rameses; parted for a moment, she falls into the hands of servants of the king, who carry her away to his harem, and he into the presence of a meeting of *free-masons*, who are organising the revolt which is to break out the next day. In the conflict which ensues the lovers meet again, and succeed in escaping from the country. The author then favours us with a *philological* argument to show that their descendants, after some centuries, returned and ruled over the land they had thus forsaken.

The descriptions of ancient Thebes are elaborate, but confused; to

¹⁴ "Die deutschen Gesellschaftslieder, des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts." Von Fallersleben. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

¹⁵ "Der Letzte der Ramessiden oder vor drei Jahrtausenden, ein Culturhistorischer Roman." Von Max Uhlemann. Leipzig: O. Wigand. London: Williams and Norgate. 1860.

call again to life the race which constructed and lived among the temples of Philoe and the pyramids, and which left the world as mysterious at its own Sphynx, is beyond the powers of Herr Uhlemann. The unusual scenery by which he has hoped to give a value to a romance having none of its own, has proved only an additional burden to him, the unreality and historical falsity of his views of Egyptian society, particularly of those connected with the mutual relations of the sexes, are not redeemed by any vivid portraiture of even the ruins of the times he has endeavoured to resuscitate.

The publication of the "Dresden Gallery in Photographs, taken from the pictures themselves," has now reached its eighth number.¹⁶ Among these sheets will be found some of the choicest photographs extant, and a very cursory review of them throws the fullest light on the probable effort they will exert on the art of engraving. It is immediately evident that no engraver can approach the beauty of a good photograph, where the chief merits of the original consist in grouping and chiaroscuro; but then, on the other hand, where the artist's charm resides in colour, the photograph absolutely misrepresents the original, from the chemical effect of certain colours on the sensitive surface of the negative. A very complete proof of this is to be found in the third part of this publication.

The St. Sebastian of Corregio is one of the most charming reproductions of a picture anywhere to be met with; no engraver could approach the beauty with which the childlike contours of the master are fixed upon the paper. The glowing illumination of each figure, by the glory which surrounds the Virgin, would be unapproachable by any but the most skilful master of mezzotint, while the peculiar individuality of Corregio's drawing could not fail to lose some of its character under the most skilful hand. While this photograph leaves so little to be desired, that any engraver must throw down his burin in despair at the sight of it, we have only to turn to another in the same number to see the limits of the new process, and to find that there are some things as yet unapproachable by it. A Hunting Party, by Wouvermann, shows this in the most striking manner. The delicate and lovely backgrounds and distant views of this painter have such a general blue tone, that they become utterly ineffective from the fact of blue objects producing the effect of white ones on the sensitive surface of the plate. The photograph thus gives the appearance of a completely worn-out copper-plate, from which every delicate *nuance* has been erased by frequent printing.

When complete, this work will form a splendid volume, and if, in some respects, inferior to engravings, the photographs have merits of their own which are unapproachable, and in manipulation these are equal to any we have seen. If allowance must be made for a photograph from a coloured surface, it is quite otherwise in the case of an etching or simple drawing. There are few purposes to which photo-

¹⁶ "Die vorzüglichsten Gemälde der Königlichen Gallerie in Dresden in photographischen Abbildungen nach den originalen herausgegeben." Von Franz Hanfstängl 1859. London: Williams and Norgate.

graphy can be applied with such unequivocally favourable results as in the reproduction of drawings by celebrated artists.

The sketches of a great painter are often found to give more of his characteristic features than even his complete works : they reveal his method of procedure, and often give interesting insight into conflicts passing through his mind during the very process of production. Hitherto this source of study has been inaccessible to the general public, from the impossibility of reproducing the material for it by engraving. An engraver at the best can but give his own conception of the work he copies, and the result is that we are always forced to see the original through a more or less distorted medium. This may in rare instances be to the advantage of the painter, as Schiavonetti's engravings after Blake's designs are sufficient to show ; but most frequently the fugitive graces of the artist's handling are lost in the progress without any such compensation as Blake enjoyed. The Widow of Alfred Rethel, the composer of that remarkable Dance of Death which has so wide a reputation, is now publishing at Dresden, photographs of her husband's drawings, which fully corroborate the remarks we have just made.¹⁷ Rethel's great originality both of conception and execution may be studied in these sheets in the fullest manner. The subjects of the projected series are chiefly selected from German history, and have a most national physiognomy. For power, vigor, and effect, there are few modern artists who surpass the composer of the Todtentanz and Der Tod als Freund, and these sheets for a few shillings put it in the power of any one fully to acquaint themselves with one of the most characteristic of modern German artists.

¹⁷ "Alfred Rethel's Historische Compositionen in photographischen Nachbildungen. Dresden : Frau Marie Rethel. London : Williams and Norgate.

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